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AUTHORITY TO
MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

THE
INDIAN EMPIRE:

**HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, POPULATION, CHIEF CITIES AND PROVINCES; TRIBUTARY AND PROTECTED
STATES; MILITARY POWER AND RESOURCES; RELIGION, EDUCATION, CRIME; LAND TENURES;
STAPLE PRODUCTS; GOVERNMENT, FINANCE, AND COMMERCE.**

WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE

**MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY; OF THE INSURRECTION IN WESTERN INDIA; AND AN EXPOSITION
OF THE ALLEGED CAUSES.**

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PORTRAITS, AND VIEWS.

VOL. III.

**INDIA DELINEATED, IN A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS EXHIBITING THE SCENERY OF THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS, AND
VIEWS OF THE PRINCIPAL PLACES IN INDIA; WITH LETTERPRESS DESCRIPTIONS, BY MISS EMILY ROBERTS.**

**THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,
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THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

THE KEEREE PASS.

ONE of the most agreeable diversities that can occur in the life of a European resident in Hindoostan, is a visit to the Hills—the common term applied in India to the lower ranges of the Himalaya Mountains. Many are driven from the plains to try the effects of a more bracing climate for the recovery of health; but there are some to whom a love of the picturesque, and a restless desire to seek amusement in ever-varying change of scene, prove the chief incentive for a tour into the recesses of the mighty and mysterious range that forms the northern boundary of our Indian empire. The favourite and most exciting route, when undertaking such an expedition, is by Saharunpore, a frontier town of the province of Delhi (sometimes called the threshold of the hill districts), whence it is usual to penetrate through the valley of the Deyrah Dhoon, to the interior of the Himalayas, and the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges.

On commencing a journey towards the valley, the road of the traveller is through the Keeree Pass; and this lovely portal to a new country gives delightful promise of the scenery beyond. The distant view which may have been already caught of the great Himalaya, from a spot in the neighbourhood of Saharunpore, is of that dreamy, poetical description, which, though full of beauty, presents little that is definite, and only excites curiosity. From this spot two inferior belts, divided from each other by deep intersecting vales, appear to rise tier above tier, the pyramidal snow-capped heights, which seem to lift themselves into another world, crowning the whole with almost awful majesty. From the site mentioned, the mountain-ranges have all the indistinctness that belong to the land of faërie, and which, leaving the imagination to luxuriate in its most fanciful creations, invest the scene with a species of enchantment. The pure, dazzling whiteness of the regions of eternal snow, give occasionally a cloud-like appearance to the towering summits, and may almost induce the belief, that they indeed form part of the heaven to which they aspire; while, in other states of the atmosphere, they stand out in bold relief, catching the rays of the sun, and reflecting a golden tint, or rearing their lofty points, white with the unsullied snow of ages, they proclaim, that while all else on earth is liable to change, themselves endure, immutable and for ever.

Upon entering the Keeree Pass, the distant view of the true Himalaya—the birth-place and abode of the gods of Hindoostan—is lost, and the scene becomes one of the softest beauty imaginable; the devious valley winds amongst rocky eminences, richly clothed with stately trees. At every step forward the landscape changes its features; and, though its character still remains the same, presents so great variety of forms—of crag and precipice, wild rock, deep forest, and luxuriant valley—that the traveller is lost in pleasurable amazement;—now exulting with that joy which the exile alone can feel when suddenly encountering some point of resemblance to a well-known object near a far-off home—now struck with wonder by some dazzling specimen of native growth. Here, for the first time, is beheld, in all its native luxuriance, the giant creeper (*Scandent banhinia*), with justice termed the monarch of its tribe. This enormous parasite winds its snake-like stem—which attains the size, and somewhat resembles the body, of the boa-constrictor—round the trunks of the forest-trees, either mingling their flowers with its foliage, or flinging them from the festoons which it forms from branch to

branch as it travels along. The rich scent of these superb blossoms, together with that of the banbool, fills the air with perfume, and gratifies at once both sight and smell.

There are two halting-places in the Keeree Pass: one, the Mohun Chokee, at the entrance; the other, the Shoupore Chokee, within the pass, which extends to a length of upwards of six miles. A party of tourists, when consisting of several persons, having with them a numerous *cortège*—comprising horses, elephants, and bullocks, for the conveyance of baggage—presents an imposing appearance; and the usual encampment at the Mohun Chokee becomes extensive and picturesque, when animated by groups of attendants, assembled round their fires—the horses and elephants picketed under the trees, and the bullocks reposing on the ground.

Advancing from this spot, the traveller approaches the low hills, which compose, as it were, the outworks of the Himalaya. Of these, the elevation varies from 500 to 900 feet above the plains, and about 2,500 above the level of the sea. The thick forest and brushwood with which they are clothed are full of peacocks; and, amidst game of less importance, the tiger is found; while hares, and the black and grey partridge, literally swarm around. There are, however, parts of the woody ranges beyond Keeree, so strongly infected with poisonous exhalations, that at the worst season they are deserted even by the brute creation; monkeys, tigers, every species of quadruped, and even the birds, urged by some instinctive warning, quit the deadly spot, and seek a resting-place in distant and more healthy neighbourhoods.

THE GANGES, ENTERING THE PLAINS NEAR HURDWAR.

EMERGING from the Keeree Pass, the road proceeds in the direction of Hurdwar (*Hari-dwar*, the Gate of Vishnu), near the point at which the sacred waters of the Ganges enter the plains of Hindoostan. The scenery around Hurdwar affords some of the most splendid landscapes which are to be found on the bright and beautiful river whose majestic course is diversified by so many interesting objects. The town stands at the base of a steep mountain, on the verge of a slip of land reclaimed from the forest, and surrounded on all sides by thick jungle. The leafy fastnesses of the Deyrah Dhoon appear immediately above the pass; and below, the uncultivated wastes of the Terraic stretch their wildernesses for many miles. The locality about Hurdwar has for ages been held in high veneration by the worshippers of Vishnu, and the town itself is one of the most frequented resorts of Hindoo pilgrims, who flock thither from all parts of India, to perform their devotions in the mystic stream at the moment of its emancipation from the untrodden recesses of the vast Himalaya, in whose profound solitudes the infant waters spring from their everlasting fount.

To behold the Ganges at the moment in which its faith-inspiring current bursts into freedom from its mountain boundary, and glides in one broad stream along the plain, is to the exhausted devotee who has endured weeks, perhaps months, of fatigue and privation consequent upon a painful and hazardous journey, an ample recompense for all his toil and suffering. He gazes enraptured on the holy river, and, gathering up his failing strength to the task, presses onward, but too happy to yield up life with the first plunge of his body in the hallowed wave. Guided by faith in the doctrine of his race, the worshippers of Bramah believe that a blessed immortality is secured to the person who shall thus end his earthly career; and, consequently, many who are wearied of life, or are anxious to enter scenes of purer enjoyment, will cheerfully commit suicide, or, if too weak to perform the act themselves, will prevail on their nearest friends to accelerate the progress of dissolution by leaving their bodies to float down the sacred stream, while their souls are absorbed in the Divine Essence.

It is at this point of emergence from the hills that persons journeying from a great distance are anxious to fill their jars with water, that their homes may be hallowed by a portion of the sacred element. Rich and pious Hindoos, who inhabit the provinces remote from this spot, spend large sums of money in procuring it by means of messengers, who are

employed specially for the purpose. The water-pots are oftentimes conveyed to their destination in a picturesque manner, being enclosed in a framework decorated with flowers and feathers, and slung upon bamboos resting on the shoulders of long files of men, who will convey it thus, without contamination, for several hundred miles. The bearers of the sacred fluid, although enjoying immunity from danger from all other enemies, are yet frequently waylaid and murdered by the Thugs, who consider murder to be an act of duty towards their goddess Bhownanee, the destructive power; and who will murder the poorest victim that falls in their way, to propitiate their deity, and induce her to provide them with richer sacrifices.

Beyond the point at which the Ganges enters the plains, to its final junction with the ocean (a distance of 1,200 miles), it flows smoothly and placidly along, occasionally vexed and ruffled by tempest; or, assuming an alarming degree of velocity when swollen by the melting of the snows, its strong current glides with the speed of an arrow. There are, however, no cataracts in its long descent towards the sea, the fall being somewhat less than a foot a mile, through a channel which varies in width very considerably in different places, and at particular seasons; until, as the mighty river approaches the ocean, it spreads out its waters afar, pouring them forth in a flood ten miles broad. The Ganges is not fordable below its confluence with the Jumna at Allahabad; but though it may be crossed by men and animals at several places previous to its junction with that tributary, the navigation is not interrupted from the spot in which it enters the plains. Its rise is seldom above thirty-two feet; but when it reaches this height, it spreads over the adjacent country like a sea, inundating the low land, and frequently destroying whole villages; those that remain, rising like islands in the midst of the watery waste. The waters of the Ganges are so charged with earthy particles, that when the floods begin to subside, the quantity of alluvial matter deposited is inconceivably great; and an instance is recorded in which a branch of the river was filled up nearly to a level with the adjacent country in the space of a week, the material deposited being equal to 900,000,000 solid feet. Between the mountains and the sea, the stream of the Ganges is augmented by the contributions of eleven large rivers, some of which are equal in magnitude to the Rhine, and none are less than the Thames. Its extreme length, from its source to the sea, is estimated at 1,560 miles.

HURDWAR.

THE town of Hurdwar, which is small, but well built, is adorned with several commodious ghauts, constructed of cut freestone, descending by long flights of steps to the river. It consists chiefly of one principal street, running north and south, parallel with the course of the water, and composed of handsome houses belonging to rich merchants and Brahmins from every part of India. Many of the best edifices of Hurdwar have their foundations laid in the bed of the sacred river.

The roofs of the houses at this place are generally covered by troops of monkeys, who are held in much veneration in every stronghold of Hindoo superstition, and are, consequently, suffered to increase in such unchecked abundance, that they become an intolerable nuisance to their protectors, it being difficult to prevent their intrusion into the most private apartments.

The resident population of Hurdwar being small, the accommodation for pilgrims and others, who repair in great numbers to the place at certain seasons, is of a temporary description only, the wealthy portion of the pilgrims being alone indulged with the shelter of a roof over them; the remainder of the vast multitude whom religion, pleasure, or business brings to the spot, being content to bivouac under canvas, or beneath the shadows of the trees. At an adjacent town named Kunkul, there are, however, numerous serais for the accommodation of strangers, consisting of long, low, quadrangular

buildings, surrounded with suites of small apartments, in which human and animal life mingle together in one confused mass of noise, disorder, and excitement.

During the fair (of which we shall presently speak), on either side of the approach to Hurdwar, for a distance of two miles, are to be seen large and handsome tents belonging to the civil and military officers of the Company, who repair thither on duty; while others who visit the place for amusement only, avail themselves of the shelter of the same encampment. These canvas abodes are diversified by the more substantial residences of rich natives, sheltered by large mango groves, and beautified with rare and magnificent flowers; and so great is the necessity for temporary habitations during the fair, that artificers resort to the place from a considerable distance, in order to construct houses of thatch and grass mats, on a bamboo frame.

This celebrated fair is yearly held in the month of April, and lasts nearly a month. It is attended by pilgrims and traders from all parts of India—the first impelled by devotion to perform their ablutions in the sacred river; the other by a desire to profit by the opportunity presented by the vast assemblage, for mingling business with devotion. The auspicious moment for the observance of the religious portion of the affair is calculated by the Brahmins; who aver, that a great increase in the efficacy of the rite is derivable from its performance when Jupiter is in Aquarius, or the Sun enters Aries—which happens every twelfth year.

The climate of Hurdwar, during the early part of April, is exceedingly variable from four in the afternoon until nine or ten on the following day: the wind generally blows from the north or east, over the snowy mountains, rendering the air delightfully cool: during the intermediate hours, however, the thermometer frequently rises to 94°; and the clouds of dust arising from the concourse of people and cattle, add considerably to the annoyance sustained from the heat.

The Ganges, during the rainy season, is a mile in width at Hurdwar, pursuing its course between low woody islands, some of which afford very commodious camping-ground. On the west bank the eye rests upon a ridge of hills, rising to the height of 600 feet, covered with thick brushwood mingled with trees. These hills are cleft in many places into rugged and deep ravines, which afford cover to numerous wild animals. The background of the landscape is formed of part of the range of blue mountains, from 6,000 to 8,000 feet in height, which conceal the base of the Himalaya or snowy region, and fill up the distance in the most magnificent manner possible.

THE PILGRIM FAIR AT HURDWAR.

It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the grandeur and beauty that render Hurdwar one of the places most worthy of a traveller's attention in India, or to attempt to describe the diversified swarms of animate creation that, in the form of men and beasts of every race and clime, cover the whole ground around the holy station during the annual festival of the pilgrims at Hurdwar, in April. Horse-merchants from Bokhara and Cabool occupy the stony, central portions of the river; while those from Turkistan take up quarters behind the houses of the town. Elephant dealers incline to the suburbs for the sake of fodder; but, morning and evening, traverse the roads with their studs, each elephant having a bell attached to its neck to give warning of approach. Buncas, or grain-sellers; Hulwaes, or confectioners; cloth, shawl, and toy-merchants, occupy the roadside, close to the town; their dwelling-places being interspersed with enclosures containing piles of barley and straw, heaped up and ready for sale.

On the sides of the hill to the west, thousands of Seik families are clustered, with their huts, tents, camels, bullocks, mules, and horses, crowded together in wild confusion. Near these are the tents of the better order of visitors, in groups of two or three, and constructed of white or striped canvas, gaily fringed and ornamented with scalloped

borderings of scarlet cloth. There, also, are the tents of the superior horse-dealers, Arab or Persian merchants, who have brought animals of the purest breed, for which they demand enormous prices. Men are there, too, with bears, leopards, tigers, deer of all kinds, monkeys, Persiau greyhounds, beautiful cats, and rare birds for sale. In short, there are collected at this fair, samples of the most rare, beautiful, and costly of the productions of the East, natural and artificial; while Europe also contributes largely to the stock of valuable merchandise brought to this great mart for distribution among the swarming races of Hindoostan.

The crowding and confusion of buyers and sellers; the native groups in every imaginable variety of costume—some shining in cloth of gold, and surrounded by followers richly arrayed; others less expensively, but picturesquely, dressed, and many half-naked or wildly clad—all mingled together, among priests, soldiers, and religious mendicants—half beggar, half bandit; with here and there a cluster of Europeans mounted upon elephants, and affecting to look with supreme contempt upon the scene around them—exhibit altogether a combination of individualities that no other place in the world is capable of presenting. As may be easily imagined, the noise baffles all description.

During the time of the fair, the neighbouring roads are crowded by thousands of travellers in every description of vehicle, and mounted on elephants, bullocks, and camels, on horseback and on foot, and of all ages, complexions, and costumes. As they pass the pagodas on their way, the air resounds with shouts of "Mahadeo Bol!" which is repeated from front to rear, until the distant echoes take up the note, and the welkin rings with the cry of "Bol! Bol!" The fair and the ghaut divide the attention of persons whom mere curiosity has drawn to the spot. In the ghaut immense crowds succeed each other without intermission; the vast influx of people thronging to the river-side, especially at the auspicious moment in which ablution is considered most efficacious. This ceremony has, until of late years, been generally productive of serious accident. Formerly a narrow avenue led from the principal street to the ghaut; the rush through this was tremendous, and numerous lives were lost—not fewer than seven hundred having fallen a sacrifice in one day to the enthusiastic zeal with which the devotees pressed forward to the river. The road has, however, been widened, and a convenient ghaut constructed by direction of the government; and the pilgrims at Hurdwar have since been able to perform an essential rite of their religion without danger.

The Brahmins are, of course, conspicuous in the throng: they collect the tribute, but do not otherwise exercise their sacerdotal functions, the bathing being performed without any peculiar ceremony: there are also a vast number of mendicants of every description, many being, from their filth, their distortion, or their nakedness, the most disgusting objects imaginable. The utter absorption of every faculty in the duty performed by the bathers, who are only intent upon saturating their bodies with the sacred waters, offers an extraordinary contrast to the listless, indifferent air of the European spectators, who, lazily reposing on their elephants, survey the scene at a convenient distance. A few missionaries distributing copies of the Scriptures translated into the various dialects of the East, are the only types of European intelligence that appear to take an interest in the scene around them.

Frequently, upon this occasion, a large congregation of the magnates of the land is assembled at Hurdwar. The Begum Sumroo, during her lifetime, would often make her appearance, with a retinue of 1,000 horse and 1,500 infantry. Here, also, was wont to assemble the Nawab of Nujibabad, the Rajahs of Ghuosgarh, Uchet, and Sadwa; the Puttecala rajah and his vakeel, whose attendants were distinguished by their light yellow turbans and sashes; and the Rajah of Balespoor in the mountains: all of whom, the latter especially, making it a point to traverse the fair mornings and evenings. The Balespoor rajah usually appeared seated on a remarkably tall elephant, in a large howdah overlaid with plates of solid silver glistening in the sun, and covered with a pointed dome-like canopy of scarlet, supported on four silver pillars richly embossed. He wore a large white conical turban; and amongst the jewels that adorned his person were two enormous pearls, set as ear-rings, the hoops being of gold three inches in diameter. A servant sat behind him, waving slowly, backwards and forwards over his head, a splendid chowrie, or feather-fan, as an emblem of rank. Many of his relatives followed upon elephants

caparisoned in various degrees of splendour, surrounded by horsemen showily dressed and accoutred, capering and curvetting about. Besides these were the usual rabble route on foot (the constant attendants upon Eastern sovereignty), crowding in the rear, heedless of the vicious animals rearing and leaping on all sides, as their riders fired off muskets, matchlocks, and pistols, and made the adjacent hills reverberate with the sound.

Among these wild but truly Oriental pageants, Rhutz (four-wheeled carriages) abound at the fair, the roofs covered with white linen or scarlet cloth, and terminating with ornaments of gold or silver: these are chiefly occupied by women, six or eight of whom are crowded into one vehicle; small curtained apertures at the sides, enabling them to snatch hasty glances at the multitude around, without themselves being visible. Troops of dancing-girls also establish themselves at Hurdwar during the fair, and are to be seen performing either in front of the houses, or in the interior of the dwellings of the rich inhabitants.

As soon as darkness sets in, the whole of the river, the town, and the inhabited portion of the forest, present a continuous blaze of illuminations, the display being varied by occasional bursts of fireworks. Nothing can be more pleasing than the effect of the lamps, sparkling and gleaming between the trees; while the islands and woody shores of the river are distinctly marked by innumerable vessels of oil, kindled and sent floating down the stream.

At these immense annual gatherings the peace of the promiscuous multitude is usually preserved by a large detachment from the Sirmoor battalion of Goorkas, or hill-rangers, who come down from their quarters at Deyrah Dhoon, and garrison one of the islands in the centre of the river, where they are out of the way, and yet sufficiently near to prevent disturbance. A considerable body of police, with the civil magistrates, are also present to enforce regulations for the preservation of order.

MUSSOOREE, OR MUSSOURI.

LEAVING Hurdwar, the traveller may proceed up the valley of the Dhoon to the village of Rajpoor, at the foot of the secondary chain of the Himalaya. Part of the road conducts him through a hick forest of lofty trees, among which will be found the rhododendron in full bloom: the underwood is composed of richly flowering plants, and the air laden with the fragrance of the corunda, whose white starry blossoms are redolent with perfume. In some places the road forms itself into an avenue, the branches of the trees meeting overhead. In this beautiful valley, part of which is watered by a clear stream shaded by alders, the turf is enlivened by the amaranth, a bright scarlet and pink flower, and several species of the ranunculus. There are also found large bushes of sage springing from a carpet of thyme, which gives out its aromatic odour to every breeze.

The town of Deyrah, in this valley, is the station of the Goorka battalion of hill-rangers, whose faithful and energetic services through the war of the sepoy revolt, has been frequently and justly acknowledged by every commander under whom they have fought. It has long been selected for the residence of the political agent of the province, and has many advantages to boast of. Deyrah is celebrated for a temple, sacred to the memory of a Hindoo devotee by whom it was founded; but the chief claim of this individual to favourable recollection, arises from the fact of his having constructed a handsome stone tank, which occupies an acre of ground, and is an ornamental as well as useful boon to the inhabitants.

The ascent from Deyrah to Rajpoor is so gradual as to be hardly perceptible; but from the latter place it becomes more abrupt, the road winding along the sides of precipices of the most romantic character, craggy with rocks, and richly clothed with trees that descend to the bottom of deep and almost unfathomable ravines, through

which, however, the ear can detect the sound of gushing waters, as they pursue their course through channels impervious to the eye of man.

Rajpore is an exceedingly pretty village, sufficiently elevated to admit of a clear and unobstructed view of the ever-beautiful Dhoon: near it are some natural curiosities worth visiting, one being the dripping rock of Shansa Dhare. From a precipitous height of overhanging cliff a stream descends in perpetual showers of crystal, each drop producing a petrification: and the cliff being worn away by the continual action of the water, assumes a cavernous appearance, formed entirely of spar. In this natural temple a Brahmin has erected an altar, dedicated to Mahadeo (the Great God.) Opposite to this, in another direction, is a spring containing a large proportion of sulphureous particles, rising out of a mass of limestone, and tinging the adjacent stones with its colouring matter. At Mala Pani, in the vicinity, is a monument erected to the memory of General Gillespie and the officers who fell before the fortress of Kalunga, in the Goorka war of 1815.

The summit of the ridge on which Rajpore is situated, is elevated 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, and from its utmost height a glorious burst of landscape is presented; the plains below stretching far and wide, bounded on either side by the Jumna and the Ganges, which, at a distance of forty miles apart, pursue their tortuous career until their silvery traces are lost in the meeting skies. After winding for several hundred miles in a south-easterly direction, these beautiful rivers unite—the Jumna throwing itself into the Ganges at Allahabad; thus enclosing an extensive tract of country, called the Dooab, which, by their fertilising waters, is rendered one of the most productive districts in India.

Turning in another direction to the mountain scenery, height rises upon height, intersecting valleys appear interminable, and the mind is wrapped in astonishment and awe, as the gigantic wonders of the vast scene are unfolded. Mussooree, the site of a station which is now one of the chief resorts of visitors from the plains, stands at an elevation of 7,500 feet above the level of the sea, and is situated on the southern face of the ridge called the Landour range, overlooking a village of that name, which has been selected for the establishment of a military sanitarium for officers and soldiers of the Bengal army who may have lost their health in the plains. Mussooree, in consequence of the great resort of invalids, is rapidly increasing in size and importance; but the dwellings erected by the European residents have been compared, not inaptly, to gulls' nests on the side of a cliff. There is so little table-land—the level plain, composed of a few square yards, being chiefly cut out of the rock—that the foundations of many of the cottages are built up with masonry at the edge of precipices, and there is scarcely an enclosed piece of ground round any dwelling. The roads are narrow, and in many places scooped out of the sides of steep slopes of the most fearful-looking nature; yet, so speedily does the eye become accustomed to the appearance of danger, that ladies gallop along them without experiencing any apprehension.

The Mussooree heights are composed of transition limestone, very craggy and bold, and argillaceous schistus, the slate exceedingly crumbling; there is also a large vein of trap in its valleys. No great expense is incurred in the building of houses at Mussooree; the abundance of timber in its immediate vicinity affording all necessary wood-work in inexhaustible quantities, among which the oak and rhododendron—the latter attaining the size of a forest-tree—are prominent. Some Europeans have been rather unfortunate in the site of their houses; others, more happily placed, are sheltered from the north wind, which, passing over the snowy mountains, exercises a chilling influence over everything exposed to its keen blasts. The trees on the northern side of the range are stunted and withered; but luxuriance and beauty characterise the south—the one side being covered with rhododendrons, rich with flowers; while the other is gloomy, with a clothing of sombre pines.

The rhododendron tree bears a magnificent crimson flower, and forms one of the most beautiful as well as the most prominent features of the scene. The cherry, pear, and barberry are also found. The first European mansion constructed at Mussooree belonged to a Colonel Young, commanding a Goorka corps stationed in the Dhoon. It was called by the undignified appellation of the Potato-garden, in consequence of a plantation of that useful vegetable; and remained for years the only habitation of the kind upon the hill. The house was prettily situated, perched upon the summit of one of

the lower knolls, that cluster together, and rise one above the other from the Mussooree range.

The neighbouring valleys and ridges afford to the lovers of field-sports, domiciled at Mussooree, abundant opportunities for procuring every sort of game, although there is doubtless some difficulty in the pursuit of it. The pheasants are exceedingly numerous, and of great size and beauty.

The station assumes a very interesting appearance at night, with the lights from its numerous houses sprinkled about the hill-sides, and the fires which native servants kindle on the ground wherever they can find space. Many of the builders of houses among the Mussooree hills appear to have been solely influenced in the choice of a site by the prospect it commands; others, however, have looked more to the eligibility and convenience of the situation as regards water; for though the mountain streams may be heard, and are even seen, meandering through the bed of the ravine immediately below the windows, they are not accessible but with much cost of time and labour; and the necessary supply of water frequently becomes very expensive, on account of the carriage.

Estates here are purchased or rented on lease from the rajah of the district, who is very willing to let to strangers, land which has hitherto contributed little or nothing to his annual revenue. Spots thus taken are indicated by a board bearing the proprietor's name, who thus frequently possesses himself of a large and beautiful estate, consisting, perhaps, of a whole hill covered with forest-trees, and stocked with abundance of game; of which he is sole master, subject only to some regulations which have been found necessary to prevent the wanton demolition of timber. In the dearth of amusement, it has been known that the cutting down trees, either for fuel, or merely for the purpose of watching their fall, has formed the employment of vacant minds; but of late years, such senseless pastime has been restricted; and those who would have disregarded the appeal of taste and propriety, have been compelled to bow to the prohibitory mandate of superior authority.

THE ABBEY AND HILLS FROM NEAR MUSSOOREE.

ALTHOUGH the general appearance of Mussooree might have been much improved by more tasteful arrangements on the part of the early residents, yet there are many habitations in the locality which possess a considerable portion of picturesque beauty; and amongst these the mansion which, with greater regard for European associations than for local propriety, has been entitled "The Abbey," stands conspicuous.

The abbey at Mussooree occupies a very commanding site, apart from all other habitations, on the extreme summit of a rugged mountain. During the fine weather, the prospects obtained from its elevated situation much more than compensate for any disadvantage; but, in the wet season, it is completely enveloped in mist, and damp clouds penetrate through every aperture. The intrusion of fog into a house is sufficiently disagreeable; but in these altitudes the clouds take the same liberty; and suddenly, if sitting in an apartment with the door or window open, the inhabitants often find themselves wrapped in a very poetical but very inconvenient garment. The storms, also, experienced in these elevated situations are exceedingly terrific; occasionally they rage below the residence, encircling some sublime peak of the Landour range; but at other times they pour their unbroken fury on the devoted mansion and its terrified inhabitants—the thunder peals amidst the snow-storm, while lightning flashes around like a continuous sheet of fire, and a tremendous hurricane threatens destruction to whatever opposes its progress.

The extent of mischief occasioned by these elementary conflicts is often very great in these exposed regions; and it is with fear and trembling that, after the fury of the storm has passed by, the inhabitants venture forth to survey the havoc that traces its path.

On one side are seen trees torn up by their roots; on another are rocks wrenched from their foundations, and precipitated down the side of the mountain, carrying with them, in their descent to some dark abyss, the soil and vegetation in their path. Sheep and poultry are scattered about lifeless, crushed by the descending mass; and it has occasionally happened, that human life also has been found equally insecure among these alpine heights.

In consequence of the frequent mutations of Anglo-Indian society, the abbey has more than once changed its owner, but has always been considered a desirable property, notwithstanding its exposure to all the winds of heaven. It is scarcely possible to have a finer or more extended view than that which is commanded from the windows. The gigantic Choir is visible to the right, capped with snow, which remains unmelted during the greater part of the year; while, on every side, hills and valleys, in endless succession, present flourishing villages, surrounded with rich cultivation, scattered hamlets, and thick forests. To the left, a partial glance at the Dhoon and the plains beyond close the prospect; while, in the distance, the river Jumna can be seen threading the mazes of the champaign country, and marking its course by a thread of silver.

During the months of July and August the rain falls almost incessantly, and the inhabitants of Mussooree are compelled to find amusement within the shelter of their homes. At this period the views from the abbey are naturally circumscribed; but good fires impart a glow of genial warmth and comfort to the weather-bound; and whenever the sky clears up, the most beautiful effects are visible in the scenery, either wholly or partially unveiled by the sunbeams breaking through the clouds. A lover of nature domiciled in one of these altitudes will always find something to interest him and command attention in the numerous changes which take place in different states of the atmosphere, imparting endless variety to scenery always sublime. Sunrise is accompanied by the highest degree of splendour in these alpine regions, lighting up the mountain-brows with gold, and flinging over the snowy range afar off those gorgeous hues which only the hand of nature can display. Then, as the mists curl upwards, and the veil is drawn from the face of the earth, the distant towns and villages gradually appear, and give to the rich and varied landscape the charm of almost fairy-like beauty. Such are amongst the attractions of the hill station of Mussooree.

THE HIMALAYAS—SNOWY RANGE FROM LANDOUR.

THE Himalaya Mountains, signifying by name "the abode of snow," form the tremendous barrier which, stretching from the Indus on the north-west, to the Bramapootra on the south-east, divides the plains of Hindoostan from the wilds of Thibet and Tartary. This chain of mountains comprises numerous ranges, extending in different directions west of the Indus. One of its ramifications, running in a still more westerly direction, is known to the Afghans by the name of the Hindoo-Koosh, the whole stupendous range being merely broken by the Indus. From the north-east point of Cashmere it takes a south-eastern course, stretching along the sources of all the Punjab rivers, except the Sutlej, where it separates the hilly portion of the Lahore province from those tracts which have been designated, in modern geography, Little Thibet. Still pursuing the same direction, it crosses the heads of the Ganges and Jumna, and forces their currents towards a southward channel. Farther east, the chain is supposed to be less continuous, it being the generally received opinion that it is penetrated by the Gunduck, the Arun, the Cossi, and the Teesta rivers. Beyond the limits of Bootan, the course of the chain extending into an unexplored country, it can be traced no longer; but the supposition is in favour of its running to the Chinese sea, skirting the northern frontier of the provinces of Quangsi and Quantong, and lessening in height as it approaches the east. The portion of this extensive chain which borders Hindoostan,

risers to an elevation far exceeding that of any other mountains in the world, in some places forming an impassable barrier to the countries beyond, and rendering their extent a matter of conjecture only. The breadth of the snowy chain varies in different parts between the Sutlej and the Ganges; but it has been estimated at about eighty miles from the plains of Hindoostan to those of Thibet. The heights of this splendid barrier are unsurmountable by man; but in some places, the beds of rivers which intersect it afford access to its wild and gloomy fastnesses; and as a few have succeeded in penetrating the gigantic mass, there is a possibility that the efforts of science and daring combined, may yet force a passage through the rocks and snows of these desert wastes. The ranges of hills, extending in a southerly direction from the Himalaya, are divided into numerous principalities to the eastward of the Sutlej—Sirmoor, Gurhwal, Kumaon, Nepaul; and many others are to be found, several of which were unknown to the European inhabitants of India previous to the Goorka wars of 1815.

The plains of India may with justice be deemed one vast prison, in which the sun, aided at one period of the year by the hot winds, acts the part of gaoler. It is only during a brief interval in the morning and evening, that exercise can be taken with impunity, except during the cold season; and even then a carriage or a horse is required. Emancipation, therefore, from these restraints—a feeling of power to wander at will in the open air, and the invigorating influence of a bracing atmosphere, combine to render individuals, on their arrival at Mussooree, like captives newly liberated from a dungeon, or schoolboys breaking loose from their forms.

From Mussooree a road has been cut at the elevation of 7,000 feet above the sea level, that completely encircles the height chosen for the sanitarium of Landour; permitting the residents to make an easy excursion of about four miles, either on horseback or on foot; every step of the way being fraught with objects of beauty and interest.

In no place can the snowy range of the Himalaya be seen to more advantage than from the western side of Landour; the distance being about thirty miles. From this point it rises with a majesty and distinctness which is in some measure lost when the traveller, at a nearer approach, becomes shut in as it were amid lofty peaks, which circumscribe his view; and where, in consequence of the extraordinary purity of the atmosphere, they, especially soon after sunrise, appear to the eye much nearer than they really are. The intermediate country is then veiled in mist, spreading like a lake; and the snowy eminences beyond, rising from its margin, when lighted up by the slanting rays of the sun, seem as if they could be gained by an easy effort: it is not until those silvery mists have cleared away, and the sun shines out with broader splendour, revealing the true state of the case, that the illusion is dispelled. Dhawallaghiri (the white mountain), in which the river Gunduck has its source, is considered to be the most lofty of these peaks: its height has not been exactly determined; but accounts that are esteemed accurate, render it 27,400 feet above the level of the sea. Jumnoutri and Gungoutri, whence the Jumna and the Ganges have their birth, are next in proportion, both exceeding 24,000 feet; but the last-named is the most highly honoured by the natives, some of whom affirm, that on its topmost summit Mahadeo has erected his throne; while others reverence the whole mountain as the god.

Villages are to be found at an elevation of 14,000 feet; but dwelling at this altitude is not healthy, and the inhabitants have a wretched and attenuated appearance. Cultivation has been carried, in some places, 500 feet higher; and vegetation does not totally cease until stopped, at the height of 16,000 feet, by that eternal barrier of snow which asserts supreme dominion over the sullen wastes above.

From another point of Landour the eye embraces the splendid range of mountains through which the sacred river forces its impetuous course—now fretting along a narrow channel, which it has worn amid the rocks; and now flinging itself down in glittering volumes from ridge to ridge; until at length, emerging from the hills, it is seen winding and wandering along the level country in curves of beauty, which the eye may trace until they are lost in distance.

From the crest of the Sowa Khola ridge, at a short distance from Landour, the whole valley of Deyrah Dhoon, the small Sewalik range which encloses it to the south, and the dim plains of Saharunpoor still further in the distance, burst upon the delighted vision; the snowy mountains forming a magnificent background, and the monarch of the

secondary belt—the sublime Choor—standing out in bold relief; while in the vast expanse of plain, the silver lines of the Ganges and Jumna are seen shining through the haze.

SNOWY RANGE FROM TYNEE.

IN India, it has long been considered a natural consequence of the position, that all adventurous persons who take up their head-quarters at any of the hill-stations, should make excursions through the mountain passes beyond; and it has not unfrequently happened that some, more enterprising than others of the migratory tribe, have penetrated to the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna. When projecting a tour in the Himalayas, with the latter object in view, it is always desirable that a party of three or more Europeans should unite, each providing himself with some eight or ten servants, who in turn require the assistance of a strong corps of coolies, or porters. They must provide themselves with tents, sure-footed ponies, and chairs, called jhampanis; the bearers who carry them on their shoulders on poles, being called jhampanis. It is not always easy to induce the natives to engage in these expeditions. Despite their servile obsequiousness, they look upon the Feringhees—who are not content with the comforts they might enjoy under a good roof, and voluntarily expose themselves to hardships and privations solely from an absurd admiration of mountains, rocks, trees, and horrid snows—as little better than madmen. Accordingly, the instant that any disastrous circumstances occur—when food and fuel become scarce, the cold intense, and the prospect threatening—a general strike is almost certain to take place; and these mutinies are only suppressed by returning fine weather, the opportune acquisition of a fat sheep, or the materials for a good fire; discontent gradually subsiding under the genial influence of sunshine, roast mutton, or even the blaze without the meat.

The perils to be encountered from cold, hunger, and rebellion, are notorious among travellers; but a natural ardour in the pursuit of the picturesque renders such contingencies of minor importance; and the tourists should start from Mussooree in good spirits, and with a determination to accomplish the object for which they set out. Very shortly after the commencement of their travels, they will reach the spot whence the accompanying view was taken.

Tyne, or Marma, stands at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, and affords an opportunity for enjoying in full perfection the sublimity of mountain scenery. The foreground of the vast picture is composed of a ridge richly covered with timber (the growth of ages), and contrasting, by its dark foliage, with the barer eminences around, which, rising in all directions, appear as if the tumultuous waves of a stormy ocean had suddenly been frozen into solidity; while the forest, standing forth in the midst, looks like a peninsula stretching far into the billows. Beyond this wild and confused sea of mountains, arise, in calmer majesty, vast towering piles of stainless snow, which, from whatever point they may be viewed, never fail to inspire sentiments of admiration and of awe. The higher cluster of white peaks near the centre are those of Bundapooch, above Jumnautri, the source of the Jumna. To the right are the Rudra Himalaya, near Gungoutri, whence springs the Ganges; and still further to the east, the loftiest of the peaks, the Dhawalaghiri, may sometimes be discovered at a distance of 250 miles, rearing its snowy coronet, and looking down from its height of 27,000 feet upon the pigmy world below; while far to the east and west, the hoary tributaries of the giant mountain stretch their snowy eminences in space until they melt into air, and are lost to straining sight. Although the distance from the spot whence this view is taken, to the nearest mountains of the snowy range, is not more than thirty miles, it requires a fatiguing journey of many days to reach them, and involves a route of at least ninety miles. Several persons have succeeded in forcing a passage to the northward of those hills; but the peaks themselves are yet untrodden by human feet.

In the progress of the journey the scene becomes wild, and frequently impressive, the valley narrowing as the travellers advance, and the rocks on either side rising with greater abruptness: the stream which flows along the path is sometimes boiling over rocks, making a sea of foam; at others diving into ravines, and gurgling amidst impenetrable darkness. Occasionally, the savage landscape is relieved by spots of a calmer nature—the castle of some mountain rajah crowning with picturesque beauty a lofty crag, with greensward beneath sloping down to the water, embellished with scattered trees, and approached over a carpet of thyme studded with flowers of every hue, whose fragrance is borne upon the loitering air. The scene changes, and the travellers are surrounded with precipitous rocks—the level space circumscribed to a few yards; and cascades are roaring and tumbling about in every direction. One particular day's march may be described as peculiarly attractive.

The first part conducts the tourists through a narrow gorge, walled on either side by fantastic rocks, and wooded with fine alders, the stream rolling deep beneath their feet; while the path is overhung by dreadful precipices, toppling crags now and then threatening to follow the huge fragments that have already fallen, and to crush whatever impedes their progress: then the scene widens, and a natural terrace shaded by splendid mulberry-trees, offers rest and repose—the rocks scattering themselves around, and being traversed at one place by a foaming cataract. Ascending a steep and rugged eminence, up rock and crag, another halting-place of table-land is reached, adorned with fine chesnut-trees, and commanding an extensive view backed by the snowy ranges; while immediately below appears a rich confusion of waterfalls, wild precipices, and luxuriant foliage. The air here is delightfully cool and bracing; and the meal that awaits the tourists in their halting-place will be heartily enjoyed.

From this point the savage aspect of the route is seldom relieved by scenes of gentle beauty; the ranges of hills, crossing and apparently jostling each other in unparelled confusion, being all rugged, steep, and difficult to thread; some divided from the rest by wide but rough valleys, their summits crowned by forests of venerable growth; while others, more sharp and precipitous, are nothing more than ravines descending suddenly to an appalling depth—bare solid rocks, several hundred feet in height, or dark with wood, and apparently formed by the torrents that, in the course of ages, have worn for themselves a passage through these gloomy passes. In such a country, cultivation is difficult; small patches of ground can alone be reclaimed from the wilderness, and agriculture is carried on with unremitting toil for very inefficient results.

THE VILLAGE OF NAREE.

WHEREVER human habitation is found in the course of a tour through the Himalaya, ample proof is afforded of the inveterate nature of the prejudice entertained by the people of the mountains against personal cleanliness; and yet the Puharies (as the hill people are called), though, perhaps, not equal in mental capacity to the inhabitants of the plains, exhibit no want of intelligence, and are easily made to comprehend the means of procuring for themselves additional comforts to their scanty stock: but there is one quality essentially necessary to render them agreeable to European visitors—which is untouchable; and that is, cleanliness!

Dirt, and all its odious concomitants, appear to give zest to the existence of the Puharie; and thus, while strangers pause to admire the picturesque appearance of their villages, the ingenuity displayed in the construction of the houses, and the convenient arrangement of some of the interiors, they are deterred from anything approaching to close contact either to men or dwellings, by the vermin and horrible smells that invariably accompany both.

The number of houses composing the village of Narce is small; the primitive hamlets of the hill districts not usually exceeding twenty-five or thirty, and the families being in the same proportion. The advantages of the division of labour not being yet understood, all the mechanical arts belonging to one trade are carried on by the same individual, who transmits his occupation to his descendants. The greater number of these mountaineers call themselves Rajpoots—*i.e.*, descendants of rajahs; but they are not able to show any legitimate claim to the title—a degenerate race, seldom springing from warlike ancestry. From whatever circumstance it may be caused, it is clear they do not exhibit the intrepidity, hardihood, and enterprise which usually characterise people who inhabit alpine regions; but their timidity and apathy are not so offensive as their total want of manly sentiment. Notwithstanding the absence of refinement of feeling in the Hindoo character generally, the people of the plains manifest a high sense of honour: their marriages may be contracted without respect to that mutual affection which seems so requisite for the security of domestic happiness; but they regard female chastity as an essential; and, if not so easily roused to jealousy as the Mohammedans, will not brook dishonour, and will sacrifice themselves, and those nearest and dearest to them, rather than see their women degraded. On the hills, on the contrary, no sort of respect is paid to the sex: women are looked upon as expensive articles, since every man must purchase his wife; and in order to diminish the cost attendant upon the acquisition and support of the domestic slave, four or five brothers will join in a partnership for the joint possession of the woman. The demand being small, it is generally supposed that the infanticide common to many of the Rajpoot tribes is practised chiefly with regard to daughters; since the proportion of unmarried females in the houses of their parents, is far less than it would be if the number of female children reared bore any proportion to that of the males. The Hindoo of the plains, though sunk in sensuality, occasionally evinces some susceptibility of high feeling; but nothing of the kind can exist amidst a people who, like the Puharies, can neither understand or appreciate the charm of female purity; while the women, so long as the abominable system of polygamy prevails (which, from time immemorial, has been established in the Himalaya), must inevitably remain in their present abject and unnatural condition.

THE BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE.

IN travelling through the hill districts, tourists are continually surprised into a remark respecting the changeful nature of the scenery on their line of march; and it is difficult to attempt even a brief description of the country without frequent repetition of the observations to which such sudden alternations in the landscape naturally give rise. Ascending or descending, the transitions from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, are frequently very sudden and unexpected—the tourist being sometimes annoyed by the incumbrance of clothing while passing through a deep and sunny valley, and envying the freedom of the native attendants, who make no scruple of divesting themselves of every superfluous garment; at other times, and within a few hours, actually shivering with cold.

The features of the landscape are subjected to equally striking mutations: a horrid region of barren rocks, bare and bleak, without a trace of vegetation, surmounted by beetling cliffs frowning in unreclaimed sterility, afford an awful portraiture of desolation and famine. No living creature is to be seen in these dismal solitudes—neither bird nor beast intruding on the rugged wild. The pass threaded, some steep and rocky pathway is ascended, when, gaining the summit of a ridge, the traveller looks down for several hundred feet upon a tangled scene—trees scattering themselves between the rocks, through which an impetuous torrent rushes with dash and foam: anon emerging into green and smiling pastures, enamelled with flowers, and shaded with fruit-trees; amid

which some interesting memorial of the ingenuity and industry of man meets the eye: such, for instance, as the bridge at Bhurkote, which, in its way, is a perfect specimen of the architecture of the Himalayan engineers.

When, as in the case of the stream at Bhurkote, the space is too wide to be spanned by single trees, the banks on either side are brought nearly to a level by means of stone buttresses of solid construction; these are surmounted by rows of stout beams laid close to each other, one end projecting about one-fourth of their extreme length across the stream, and the other firmly secured to *terra firma*. Over them another row of beams is placed, projecting still further, and supported by those below; and in this manner the sides are raised, floor above floor, until the vacant space between may be crossed by single planks. The whole is very skilfully put together—neither glue, nails, or ropes being employed; the absence of those articles, and the tools which a European workman would consider necessary for any structure of the kind, being supplied in a very ingenious manner by contrivances that are quite sufficient for the purpose. Even the masonry is occasionally bound together with a framework of wood, employed as a substitute for mortar, and so admirably managed as to give great strength and solidity to the fabric. The platform across is furnished on either side with rails; but although they afford some appearance of safety, the springing motion of the planks, and the rapidity of the current that hurries along the rocky bed beneath, render considerable steadiness of brain necessary in crossing. This bridge is constructed of a species of larch, and the river is shaded by some very fine alders, which here attain a gigantic size.

VIEW NEAR KURSALEE.

APPROACHING Kursalee (a well-built village on the route to the glen of the Jumna), the immense assemblage of mountains—range swelling upon range—again forcibly suggests an idea of the waves of a mighty ocean lashed into fury and rearing their billows on high, until, suddenly checked by an All-powerful hand, they cease their wrath, and are stilled into sullen, motionless majesty. The clothing of these hill-sides favours the idea, by adding considerably to their wave-like appearance, and presenting altogether a chaotic mass of wild and singular grandeur.

The road to the village passes through a noble forest, in which the oak and the rhododendron mingle freely with the pine; and, on emerging from the woody labyrinth, opens abruptly upon the Jumna, as it sweeps round the base of a lofty mountain covered with wood to its topmost height. Descending thence to a little valley, the route lies along the side of gentle eminences in a high state of cultivation; amid which, shaded by a grove of fruit-trees, stands a temple in one of the most beautiful situations imaginable—an opening between the neighbouring hills, at the same time, affording a fine view of the snowy mountains, and of a cascade that conveys their welcome tribute to the plains. The valley, in addition to its natural beauties, has a neat appearance—the evidence of human occupation. Apricots in abundance, of the largest size, offer their juicy ripeness to the hand, and enclosures of flowering hedge-rows contribute their fragrance to enhance the charms of the prospect.

The scenery of the glen of the Jumna is, without question, exceedingly beautiful, and scarcely to be paralleled throughout the mountain-range. One portion of the route from Kursalee is up a steep ascent, winding through woods of oak and rhododendron, which extend a whole mile. Upon reaching the summit, a grand prospect of the snowy peaks is obtained from Bundapooch to the right, and Bachunch to the left—the view below being wide and varied, showing the course of the Jumna to the south-west, until it is lost in distance. The mountain-ridge now traversed is white with snow; but many of the surrounding peaks, which rise still higher, are, on account of their greater steepness, and shaft-like summits, of the most deep and sombre hue. Descend-

ing from this elevation, a beautiful tract of forest land, of a perfectly new character, spreads out before the traveller—the trees being ash, sycamore, horse-chesnut, bamboo, and the wild pomegranate, which here grow in rich luxuriance, at the elevation of 6,867 feet above the level of the sea.

At a short distance from Kursalee is a celebrated hot spring, issuing from the bed of a torrent that falls into the Jumna, at a place called Banass. This torrent bursts from the cleft of one of a range of mountains which hem in a small valley, or rather dell, and rushes down, in one unbroken volume, from a height of eighty feet. The hot spring rises from the base of an opposite mountain, and mingles its waters with those of its colder but more impetuous neighbour. The water is of scalding temperature, and will not admit of the immersion of the hands or feet for a single moment, the thermometer standing at 144° when placed in the nearest part of the spring to the rock from whence it issues. The water is pure and tasteless; but the stones it flows over are discoloured, and encrusted with a black substance. The rocks from which it issues are all quartz, surrounded by gneiss and mica schist on every side, except that on which the torrent falls. This spot is considered by the Hindoos to be exceedingly holy, and the devotees are frequently rapt in a pious ecstasy, happy in the belief that they have secured the road to heaven by offering worship in this extraordinary dell.

The width of the channel allowing the river to spread at this place, renders the stream less tumultuous than either above or below; and its comparatively tranquil surface forms a pleasing contrast to the furious tributary which rushes headlong into it. The rocks, piling themselves one above another in fantastic confusion, are a shelter for thousands of pigeons, which, when disturbed, flock out in clouds; and, amid a scene so fitting for such a guest, the gigantic elk of the mountains finds a favourite haunt. The country around partakes of the same wild and savagely-romantic character. Paths, rough and dangerous, ascend and descend along the sides of precipitous heights, down to ravines whose gloom is never dispelled by the rays of the sun; then, winding upwards, they lead to a halting-place on some rugged ledge, or natural terrace, where the hunter may take his stand and watch for an opportunity to slay the musk deer, which, though scarce and shy, are sometimes within his reach; while the tourist, in search of the picturesque, looks from heights, of hundreds, or even thousands of feet, to trace the course of some wandering stream, ere it flings itself in echoing cascades to some dark abyss below. The foliage of these tremendous solitudes harmonises well with the character of the scene—luxuriant, sombre, and heavy; but enlivened by magnificent clusters of white roses, and enriched by the innumerable family of ferns, which, mingled with a bright variety of flowers, spring, as it were, to welcome the footsteps of man.

KURSALEE.

THE village of Kursalee stands at the height of 7,860 feet above the sea-level, and is one of the largest of the class usually found in the Himalaya, consisting of at least thirty houses, with a population amounting to about 300 persons. It is seated on a plain of considerable dimensions, on the left bank of the rocky ravine which forms the channel of the Jumna, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, piled one upon another—some dark with rock and forest, and others shining in all the bright resplendence of eternal snow. The village is reached by an extremely steep and rugged road. Although the winters are severe, and the temperature always low, Kursalee is a place not only of great beauty, but of abundance; being cultivated into a perfect garden well wooded with luxuriant fruit-trees, which, while they add attraction to the landscape, are pleasingly associated with ideas of wealth and comfort among those who live beneath their shade.

Kursalee, notwithstanding its limited population, is a flourishing village, full of temples and Brahmins—the latter always establishing themselves in great numbers near

haunts in most repute with pilgrims resorting to the sacred sources of the Jumna and the Ganges; from whose pockets the holy fraternity contrive to pick a very tolerable subsistence. Some of the temples at Kursalee are said to have been miraculously raised by the gods themselves, and, of course, acquire superior sanctity from that circumstance. They are adorned, according to the zeal and means of the devotees, with ornaments of varied description; among which are musical instruments, and rude images of every imaginable form and material. The horns of deer are also favourite decorations, both of temples and tombs, among the people of the hill districts, who attach some peculiar virtue to such sylvan trophies, and believe that they exercise mysterious influence over their present and future fortunes. In addition to the worship of the numerous deities introduced by the Brahmins of the plains, these mountaineers have a very extensive catalogue of superstitions peculiarly their own; and they offer religious worship to a variety of symbolical representations of good or evil beings, which their imaginations have invested with productive and controlling power. The cow is revered by all; although its sacred character does not exempt it from hard work; it being employed in the laborious operations of agriculture, in the manner pursued by the more orthodox Hindoos of the plains; but in the hills it is better treated, and is fed and tended with much greater care than the ill-used animal mocked by the worship of the former, who often, despite their veneration, prove cruel task-masters to the sacred animal.

Some fine pieces of land, attached to the village, are wholly appropriated to the maintenance of the temples and their priests; and the images in some of the places used for worship, are remarkably well executed. At Lakha Kundul (a beautiful village near Kursalee), a religious edifice, dedicated to the Pandoo deities of Ellora, contains a bullock couchant, in black marble, of life-size, sculptured with astonishing fidelity and masterly execution, by some hand that has perhaps been powerless for ages, as it bears indications of very remote antiquity.

The people of Kursalee have become much accustomed to the visits of European strangers on their route to the source of the Jumna; and it is the custom for the principal inhabitants to come out to meet the pilgrims, of whatever religion, who pass through the village. The Hindoos of these districts are exceedingly tolerant in their faith, and are, generally speaking, eager to extend the benefits to be obtained from their gods to everybody that comes in their way. Accordingly, all who choose to submit to the operation, are daubed on the forehead with a distinguishing mark of yellow ochre, denoting the peculiar sect of the operator; into which the bedaubed disciple is supposed to be admitted or regenerated by the act. The Hindoo servants of European strangers joyfully avail themselves of such a testimonial of their near approach to what they consider one of the most holy places in the world. Christian tourists of course dispense with the ceremony; but while they omit the mark of reverence for the pagan deities of the place, the hill people are far from appreciating their reasons for refusal, and do not believe that motives of science or mere curiosity can have induced them to expose themselves to toils and dangers which, in their opinion, religious zeal is alone sufficient to account for.

VIEW ON THE JUMNA—THE SANGHA BRIDGE, NEAR JUMNOTREE, OR JUMNOUTRI.

THOUGH the distance from Kursalee to Jumnotree is only eight miles, the difficulties and hazards of the route render it a very arduous journey for European tourists. Starting from the usual resting-place, at a short distance from the former village, they very soon enter upon a tortuous, uneven path of varied altitude, sometimes having nothing but a notched tree by which to ascend to a traversable ledge above them; at others, compelled to wander backwards and forwards, through the shallow bed of a

stream, as either side offers the prospect of better footing; and not unfrequently having to pursue their route, step by step, on stones projecting from the midst of the torrent that crosses the direct line of progress. This devious way, however, is at length amply compensated for by a succession of exceedingly beautiful cascades; the Jumna being here, in several places, joined by tributary streams, tumbling from immense heights, and the precipitous masses of rocks on either side possessing a still greater degree of noble grandeur. Completely shut in by these mountain-ranges, which rise abruptly on both sides of the narrowing stream, the traveller can now only catch occasional glimpses of the snowy peaks beyond. The course of the river is here little more than a mere chasm in the rock, cut and worn by the action of the water in its continuous flow through bygone ages. In some places, the solid masses, on either side, rise almost perpendicular to an extraordinary height, and are occasionally so far overhanging, as to render the opening at the top more narrow than the space below; forming a dark pass—the foliage of trees springing from clefts and shallow beds of earth, meeting at the summit. At each step the path becomes more difficult and laborious: deep pools oblige the traveller to mount to the top of a precipice, and presently to leap down again from before heights too steep to be surmounted; while, at every movement, the danger of being precipitated into the rapid waters, boiling and foaming below, is increased. Then again it becomes necessary to clamber up loose fragments of cliff of a gigantic size, which appear to have been tumbled from above purposely to block the way; and then to scramble through a shifting sea of crumbling stones bedded in quagmire, and exceedingly difficult to pass where trees, that are occasionally laid along to form a pathway, are wanting.

It is not very often that the traveller in the Himalaya will find himself accommodated with such a bridge as the one already described at Bhurkote; and repairs being considered as works of supererogation throughout the greater part of Asia, the chances are strongly against his crossing even that after a very few years of use.

The most common contrivance in the hill districts, when the stream is sufficiently narrow to admit of its employment, is the sangha, the rudest of all rude conceptions of bridge architecture. No one being at the trouble to repair a work that is for the use of every one, these sanghas are usually in an exceedingly perilous condition; and side rails being quite out of the question, the narrow footway, only sufficient to admit of the passage of one traveller at a time, offers a method of crossing a torrent that is neither easy or agreeable. Where two projecting rocks are found facing each other, they are employed as the supports of a couple of fir-trees, the ends resting on either side. Upon these a pathway is constructed of boughs laid transverse, without any fastening or care in the arrangement of them to prevent gaps, or secure a level footpath. So long as the traveller can keep in the centre of this awkward apology for a bridge, he may be tolerably safe; but the moment that he places his foot either to the right or to the left, he is in danger of being precipitated into the torrent below, by the bough on which he is treading tilting up at the opposite end. Persons possessing the very steadiest head, find their nerves severely tried in these difficult passes: few can look upon the impetuous current beneath them, and preserve any accuracy of vision: the best plan, therefore, is to fix the eyes upon some object on the opposite side, and to walk firmly and steadily along, since there is neither parapet nor guiding rail; and, in a high wind, the frail bridge is so fearfully swayed, that even the mountaineers themselves refuse to cross it. Many accidents, of course, occur; and, as not only men, but baggage of various kinds is occasionally conveyed across, it would be surprising if they did not. The Mussulman servants and Hindoos from the plains, who attend the tourists upon these excursions, look upon the tottering expedient with undisguised horror; and nothing but a sense of shame, and the fear of ridicule, can induce them to make an attempt to cross.

It is not every European who sallies from the hill-stations on an exploring expedition, that fulfils his original intentions: many find the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise too great to be compensated by the mere beauties of the landscape; and turn back—some on the very threshold of the undertaking, and others before they have proceeded half-way. Long ere the point to which the travellers have now attained is reached, they will be obliged to dispense with their ponies and jhampans—the greater and most perilous portion of the journey being necessarily performed on foot.

As the source of the Jumna is approached, the cold is frequently excessive, the

thermometer, in the shade, being below the freezing point; but the exertion necessary to progress is generally of a nature to render the state of the temperature of little moment. The glen of the Jumna now becomes narrower and darker at every step, and the precipices, on either side, more steep, more lofty, and of a still more awful character. The Brahmins, who never fail to derive some advantage from their distinctive calling, here volunteer their services as cicerones; the coolies who accompany the tourists, having got so far, will of course now determine to avail themselves of the crowning advantages of the pilgrimage; and a numerous train of fakeers, hunting in pack to participate in the great present anticipated by the chief Brahmin, from the *burra buxies*, generally swell out the train of the European travellers, who, in their further progress, must emulate the monkeys as they scramble on hands and knees, with every contortion of body, while clinging and climbing the very steepest ascent that it is possible for human beings to surmount. Upon gaining a breathing-place, they will presently find themselves upon a spot accounted eminently holy, as being the portal of the sacred source of the Jumna. A small shrine or temple, dedicated to Bhyram Jhee, and called Bhyram Ghati, is erected at this spot. A Brahmin is in perpetual attendance, and signifies his watchfulness by continually striking upon a bell. The prospect from Bhyram Ghati is surpassingly grand: being immediately above the glen of the river, the lofty ridges that enclose it can be traced nearly as far as the plains: immediately opposite, bare and bleak precipices arise, rearing their lofty and sterile peaks to an astonishing height; while, to the north-east, the western angle of Bundapooch stands out glittering in its snowy mantle; and, nearly in front, immense masses of frozen snow—amongst which the infant Jumna is cradled—are piled in majestic grandeur.

Whilst recovering breath, and enjoying the glorious prospect, the devotees of the party usually employ themselves in gathering an offering for the shrine, from the flowers that adorn the wild and desolate spot. The difficulties of the approach evidently precluded the pious architects of this place from any great attempt at ornament; and the altar is, consequently, of a very rude description, being a mere collection of loose stones, put clumsily together, and enclosing a few idols of most wretched workmanship. And yet to *these men bow!* Strange it is, that having so grand a shrine, so wonderful a temple, made by the Deity himself in the midst of the sublimest portion of his creations, man should disregard the fitness of the scene for that instinctive homage which the least religiously inclined Christian would offer to the mighty Author of the surrounding wonders, and blindly stoop to adore the misshapen works of his own feeble and ill-employed hands.

FALLS OF THE JUMNA.

THE glen of the Jumna—a deep and winding valley, sunk amidst a most chaotic confusion of mountains—is inconceivably wild and grand throughout the whole of its course to the plains. In many places the river struggles through narrow passages, formed by the angles which project into its bed; and the torrent, when circumscribed in places scarcely twenty feet wide, boils and foams so fearfully, that to gaze upon it causes the brain to whirl, and sight and sense would probably fail if contemplated for many minutes without strong assurance of security. A remarkable fall of the river is shown in the accompanying sketch, at a short distance below its source, near the point at which it receives a very considerable tributary stream. The latter may be traced to its mountain birthplace, winding over the rocky platform in graceful, noiseless undulations; its gentle murmurings, together with those of other rivulets speeding to the same point, being lost in the roar of the Jumna, which comes raging and thundering onwards, until it falls with prodigious force into a basin it has formed in the solid rock, whence it again springs in a sea of foam, and pursues its turbulent course towards

the plains, first precipitating its raging torrent down an abyss that yawns frightfully below.

The Jumna flows in a southerly direction through the province of Gurhwal, where, at Kalsee Ghaut, in $30^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., it is joined by the Tonse; which latter, though a much more considerable stream, loses its name at the point of junction. Notwithstanding the rocks and rapids that impede the course of these rivers, it has been considered possible that timber might be floated down them; an undertaking which, if accomplished, would render the hills immensely profitable to the government or to private speculators, since the surrounding regions are, in many places, so thickly covered, that one single square mile might furnish timber for a navy; and the growth of an entire mountain, would, it is asserted, suffice for all the navies in the world.

VIEW ABOVE JUMNOOTREE—SOURCE OF THE JUMNA.

By dint of untiring perseverance, and no small exertion of bodily strength, the travellers may at length find themselves on the confines of eternal snow. As they approach Jumnotree, the river is seen gliding under arches of ice, through which it has worn its passage; until at length, these masses having become too hardly frozen to yield and mingle with the current, the stream itself can be no longer traced; and here, therefore, is seen, if not its actual source, at least the first visible stage of its existence. It is rarely possible to suppress emotion at the successful accomplishment of a pilgrimage to a spot so deservedly celebrated, by enterprise that few people have the opportunity of exerting, and still fewer the nerve to undertake; and tourists, therefore, may well congratulate each other on the achievement, when, at last, they stand on the congealed pavement of unsullied snow that is spread before the birthplace of the mountain torrent. The glen at this place is not more than from thirty to forty feet in width, and the rocks on either side are of the noblest dimensions, crowned with dark, luxuriant foliage; while the impracticable region beyond—solemn, majestic, and wonderfully beautiful—seems to proclaim the hopelessness of mortal effort to penetrate the mysteries veiled by its frozen barrier.

The most sacred spot near the source of the river is upon the left bank of the glen, where a mass of quartz and silicious schist rock sends forth five hot springs into the bed of the river, boiling and splashing furiously. When mingled with the icy-cold stream of the Jumna, these smoking springs form a very delightful tepid bath; and pilgrims, after dipping their hands in the hottest part, perform much more agreeable ablutions where the temperature offers a desirable medium between the scalding water above and the chilling stream below. It is usual here with the devotees to make an offering of money to the divinity of the river, which, of course, finds its way to the pouch of the officiating Brahmin, who, in return, prays over the bathers, and marks them on the forehead, in the most orthodox fashion, with the sacred mud of the Jumna.

The height of the snow bed at Jumnotree is about 10,000 feet; and, in the month of October, when a portion of the snow dissolves at this place, it is sometimes possible to advance a little nearer to the real source than at any other period. Crossing to the spot whence the water emerges, is a work of some difficulty; but when accomplished, the infant river is seen divided into three streams, each forming a separate waterfall, and flowing over steep, green hills. The lower of these is surmountable, but not without danger, as the stones are loose, and slip from under the feet. The most direct stream of the river does not arise from any part of Bundapooch, but from the mountain-range that runs off it to the westward. Standing at Jumnotree, these small streams are perceptible before their junction into one fall, which loses itself under a mass of snow, whence it again issues near the hot springs before mentioned.

The forest stretches at least 1,500 feet above the snowy bed of the Jumna, before

vegetation is entirely forbidden by the frosts of the giant heights above. The geologist may make, at Jumnotree, a very interesting collection for his cabinet, as beautiful specimens of garnet, shorl, and tourmaline crystals are found. There is a considerable quantity of talcose gneiss rock; but the greater proportion is a coarse gneiss; while the granite summits of the mountain peaks rise to the height of 10,000 feet above.

After indulging in the gratification which the sublime prospects of this interesting place afford, travellers usually proceed to satisfy some of those cravings of appetite that forcibly recall them to a sense of their terrestrial nature. Fortunately, one of the first duties that a native of India undertakes to perform at a halting-place, is to kindle a fire, and commence preparations for a meal. Such of the Hindoos as bring rice with them, boil it over the hot springs by enclosing it in a cloth, and suspending it at the end of a stick. In the vent of the chief spring, which issues with great force from a fissure in the rock, the temperature of the water is about 194° . Several of these hot springs are found along the course of the Jumna; for which, according to native belief, the world is indebted to the merits of an exceedingly devout Brahmin, who was favoured by the gods with these hot-water fountains for his special use, whenever he found the water of the river too cold for the comfortable performance of his ablutions. At his request, the boon was perpetuated for the benefit of future devotees.

The difficulties likely to be encountered in getting back to Kursalee, are rarely considered previous to the attempt to reach Jumnotree; or the probability is, such attempts would be of rare occurrence, since, practically, they are infinitely more serious than any met with on the approach. In the course of the first day's journey by the downward route, the Jumna has to be crossed more than thirty times: it is also necessary to slide down places previously scrambled up; and to leap gaps that are much more easily passed from the other side. But the retrograde journey is not without its charms. The spots on which the traveller occasionally rests, offer, in their soft loveliness, a pleasing contrast to the rugged horrors of many portions of the scene behind—the beautiful mingling largely with the sublime. Sometimes he is seated upon banks of violets of the richest blue, surrounded by luxuriant vegetation of fruit and flower—the strawberry spreading itself far and wide, and raspberry, blackberry, and black currant bushes forming a perfect garden; while the influence of the scene is exquisitely soothing and refreshing: at another point, the sudden turn of an angle brings the wayfarer in immediate contact with the snow; which, smooth and hard, is unbroken by human tread, and glitters in its unsullied purity: and thus, surrounded by the wild and magnificent scenery of the mountain-ranges, the descent by a new route towards Kursalee is accomplished.

THE JHOOLA, OR ROPE BRIDGE.

TOURISTS having crossed the various streams and rivers of the mountain districts in, as they imagine, every possible sort of way—that is, by fording, swimming, on the trunk of a tree, by the sangha, or by the commodious structure at Bhurkote—must also be initiated into a new method of getting over a stream by means of the jhoola. The natives perform the operation with great apparent ease: to strangers it is not unaccompanied with difficulty, and occasionally with danger; and the following is the process of crossing the Tonse—a tributary of the Jumna—by the jhoola.

Upon approaching the river, which is too deep to be fordable, it will be seen that the bank on which the travellers stand is considerably higher than that on the opposite side of the river. From this elevated ground a three-stranded rope, about as thick as a man's wrist, is attached to a log of wood secured among the rocks. The rope being then stretched across the river, is passed through the prongs of a fork, or wooden prop, planted firmly in the ground; and being now divided into three strands, is secured to the trunk of a tree, kept in its place by heavy stones. Upon this rope, well twisted and

greased, is placed a semicircular slide of hollowed wood, with two handles, to which a loop is attached. In this novel conveyance the traveller seats himself, and, holding by the handles, is launched from the higher to the lower bank of the river with astonishing celerity; a thin cord at the same time remains attached to the slide, from either side of the river, for the purpose of recovering it, or of pulling the traveller from the lower to the higher bank.

Other jhoolas in the mountains vary a little in their construction: half-a-dozen stout worsted ropes are stretched across the river, and fastened to a projecting buttress on either side. On these ropes runs a block of wood, which is drawn backwards and forwards to either side of the stream, by means of strings attached to it. There are other loops which pass round the body of the passenger, who, thus secured, swings off from the buttress, and is hauled across. In this manner goats and sheep are conveyed one by one; and though the danger appears to be considerable, it is only realised, in fact, by the chance of having to trust to a rope that has seen too much service. If the apparatus be new, and sufficiently strong to bear the weight placed upon it, there is not the least peril in this method of getting across the deep and rapid rivers of the Himalaya: but such a fortunate accident must not always be depended upon; and fatal results have occasionally been produced through the fragile state in which the jhoolas are permitted to remain.

The existence of the river Touse was not known to Europeans previous to the year 1814. Losing its name in the Jumna (which it trebles in size previous to its junction with that stream), it is one of the most considerable of the mountain-torrents. When it issues from its bed of snow, at an elevation of 12,784 feet above the level of the sea, it flows in a volume thirty feet wide, and three deep—maintaining its dignity of character until its confluence with the river Jumna; which should, if rivers had their just rights, have been considered its tributary, and have borne its name.

GUNGOOTREE, OR GUNGOUTRI—THE SACRED FOUNT OF THE GANGES.

WHEN sufficiently recovered from the fatigue and bruises attendant on the journey to the source of the Jumna, it is not an unusual occurrence for European tourists to arrange an expedition from Kursalee to the springs of the Ganges at Gungootree, in the Himalaya. The shortest route from Kursalee to that place may be traversed in four days; but as it is the most difficult one, the natives always endeavour to dissuade travellers from taking it, recommending, in preference, a lower and more circuitous, but more easily accessible path. The former road leads over an arm of the Bundapooch mountain, which separates the valleys, or rather channels, along which the sacred rivers hurry from their icy birthplace. The greater part of the tract is desert and uninhabited, conducting the wayfarer through regions of rock and snow, destitute of the habitation of man, or of supplies for his use: by this route, also, there is danger that fuel may be wanting for that necessary solace to the weary—a blazing fire; a serious object when the necessity for dispensing with everything like superfluous baggage, obliges the traveller to find shelter for the night as best he can, in caves and clefts of the rocks.

One of the most formidable evils reported of this route, is the *bis-ka-kowa*, or poisonous wind, said to blow over the highest ridge of the mountains, and to bring with it exhalations from noxious plants on the borders—a very natural supposition among a race ignorant of the causes of atmospheric influences at so great an elevation. Having prudently determined upon the longer route, the travellers will proceed on the descent to a village named Nangang, which when, after encountering some slight difficulties, they at length reach, will afford prospects that amply compensate for the inconveniences sustained in the approach to them. Below is spread a rich and cultivated scene; hanging terraces (common to the hills) waving with grain, and watered by

sparkling streams which wind along the bases of high ridges covered with wood, and sometimes shooting up into peaks crowned with foliage. Beyond these, the giant mountains appear in all their sublimity—some having their crests mantled with snow; others clothed with majestic forests of venerable timber; and, again, some bleak, bare, and barren, rising in gloomy majesty from the bosom of green and sunny slopes which smile below them. Between these different ranges are deep ravines, dark with impenetrable forests, and rendered more impressively mysterious by the wild music of the torrents that roar through their hidden depths; while presently their streams issue into open day, and are seen winding round green spots richly covered with fruit-trees and glorious flowers. Such, or nearly such—for every traveller sees them under a different medium, and from a varied point of observation—are the prospects which beguile the tourists as they slip, rather than walk, down the almost precipitous side of the mountain. Nangang forms the first halting-place on the route to Gungootree; to reach which several days' march have yet to be endured, with more mountains to climb—more forests to thread—more rocky streams to ford. A diversity in the timber is now apparent; the tree most abundant being the chesnut, of which there are here many of most magnificent growth. Plenty of game is found at this elevation; among which is the monal, a feathered wonder of the Himalaya; and several varieties of the pheasant tribe, which flutter amongst these vast solitudes, and often pay welcome tribute to the guns of invading strangers.

On the line of march from Nangang, several delightful halting-places are reached—grassy terraces carpeted with strawberry-plants and wild flowers; amongst which the cowslip, the primrose, and the buttercup, unite to recall vivid thoughts of fields at home. Leaving this luxuriant vegetation, the road approaches the summit of a ridge covered with snow, and presenting the appearance of a spot hemmed in on all sides with thick-ribbed ice—vast, chilling, and impassable. Emerging from this semblance of an arctic prison, the path descends through the snow to the boundary line between the districts of the Jumna and the Ganges. The extreme limits of these river territories are marked in the manner usually adopted in rude and desolate places, by huge heaps of stone, many of which have been collected together by Europeans, who have sought thus to commemorate their pilgrimage and their success.

The next point of great interest is the summit of a ridge whence the first view of the Ganges is obtained; a sight which never fails to raise the drooping spirits of the Hindoo followers, and excites no small degree of enthusiasm in the breasts of European travellers also. The sacred river, as seen from this height, flows in a dark, rapid, and broad stream; and though apparently at no great distance, must still be reached by several toilsome marches. From a height about two miles above Gungootree, the first glimpse is obtainable of that holy place, which lies sequestered in a glen of the deepest solitude—lonely, and almost inaccessible to man; for few there are who persevere in surmounting the difficulties of the approach. A considerable distance has now to be traversed over projecting masses of rough stones—flinty, pointed, and uncertain; many being loose, and threatening to roll over the enterprising individual who seeks a foothold amongst them. Sometimes the face of the rocks has to be climbed from cliff to cliff; at others, where there is no resting-place for hand or foot, ladders, formed of notched trees, are placed in aid of the ascent; while awful chasms, and precipitous ravines, are only crossed by some frail spar, flung loosely across from side to side. These frightful rocks might suffice to form insurmountable obstacles to any invasion of the holy place; but religious enthusiasm on the one hand, and scientific research, stimulated by curiosity, on the other, render the barrier inadequate for the purpose of resisting the efforts of man. The difficult nature of the access, however, prevents any great concourse of pilgrims, whose less fervent, devotional requirements may be satisfied by resorting to altars more easily attainable upon the lower stream of the hallowed river.

The grandeur of the scene that opens upon the travellers as they at last stand upon the threshold of Gungootree, cannot be described by words. Rocks piled upon rocks in awful grandeur, their summits broken into points, and rising upon one another in indescribable confusion, enclose a glen of the wildest character; at the extremity of which the mighty Ganges—beautiful in its every haunt, from its birthplace to its junction with the ocean—pours its infant waters over a bed of shingle, diversified by jutting

rocks, and even here shadowed by the foliage of some fine old trees. The devotee—who undoubtedly believes that every step he has taken towards the source of the holy river which, from his childhood, he has been taught to look upon as a deity, will lead him towards eternal beatitude—seldom terminates his pilgrimage at Gungootree, because the true source of the stream is actually to be found much higher in the mountains, and amidst solitudes still less accessible to man. Stimulated by the fervour of religious zeal, or goaded forward by the ever-craving requirements of science, these silent recesses have, however, been invaded; and the true birthplace of the Ganges no longer remains a mystery to the world.

Long before the commencement of the present century, the upward course of the Ganges had been traced, by Hindoo devotees, to the great range of the Himalaya; and it was believed by them to have its origin in a vast and inaccessible lake, far north of that chain, through which it passed by a subterraneous passage into India. The opening whence it issued on the south side of the mountains, was called by the pilgrims Ganguotri, or the Cow's Mouth—an appellation it still retains. The portion of the river supposed to be on the north side of the range, had been approached at some remote period by Lama surveyors of Thibet; but their researches terminated at a ridge of mountains that skirt the south and west of the Lama's territory, and all that intervened between that point and Gungoutri was purely conjectural. A few years since, scientific and political reasons combined to induce the government of Bengal to depute Captain Hodgson, of the 10th native infantry, to survey the upper portion of the Ganges; and that officer, in pursuit of his mission, on the 31st of May, 1817, descended to the bed of the river, and saw the Ganges issue from a low arch at the foot of a vast bed of frozen snow. It was bounded on each side by rocks; but in the front, over the *debouche*, the mass was nearly perpendicular; and from the river to the surface the height was above 300 feet. From the brow of this curious *façade* of snow, which lay in distinct layers, as if marking each accumulating year, numerous large and hoary icicles were suspended. The width of the stream was about twenty-seven feet, and its depth from ten to eighteen inches; the height of the arch being barely sufficient to let the water pass from its cavernous recess. The altitude of the spot was computed at 12,914 feet above the level of the sea; and the height of an adjoining peak, which Captain Hodgson called St. George, was estimated at 22,240 feet.

A pilgrimage to Gungootree is accounted one of the most meritorious actions that a Hindoo can perform; and, in commemoration of a visit to this holy place, some pious Goorka chieftain has left a memorial of his achievement and his devotion in a small pagoda, erected, in honour of the deity of the place, on a platform of rock, about twenty feet higher than the bed of the river. The Brahmins who have the care of this temple, are accommodated with habitations in its close vicinity; and there are a few sheds for the temporary residence of pilgrims, many of whom, however, are content with such shelter as the neighbouring caves afford. The usual ceremonies of bathing, praying, and marking the forehead, are religiously observed at this place; the officiating Brahmin taking care that the fees are duly paid. Notwithstanding the stern and solitary nature of his retreat, at some periods of the year he may be said to lead a busy life—conversing with devout pilgrims, and carriers of the sacred water to distant lands, who require the authentication of his seal to verify the purity of their much-coveted burdens.

Like all the large rivers of the torrid, and the adjacent parts of the temperate zones, the Ganges is subject to periodical inundations, both from the melting of the snow on the southern declivities of the Himalaya, and from the heavy rains that fall during the monsoons.

KHANDOO, ON THE ASCENT TO THE CHOOR.

THE Choor is the most lofty eminence belonging to the secondary Himalaya, running south of the great snowy range; and, from whatever point it may be seen, forms a grand

and prominent object, towering majestically towards the skies, amid a host of satellites. Progressing from the south-east, the road conducts to the village of Khandoo, situated about 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. The principal building in this village is a religious edifice, occupying the right in the engraving, and differs little in character from the generality of temples dedicated to the numerous idols of the Himalaya. It is rather more lofty than the rest of the houses; the cornices are decorated with a fringe of wooden pendants, and the timber employed in its construction is elaborately carved. Generally it is not difficult for European travellers, in want of such accommodation, to obtain a lodging in the outer vestibule of a temple; but at Khandoo, and some other places, the villagers will not permit the holy shrines to be thus desecrated. Their religious worship chiefly consists in offerings of flowers, sweetmeats, and grain, upon the altars, with occasional saltatory exhibitions, when the deities are exhibited to the people for adoration.

In the inferior ranges of these hills, the leopard, and other mountain cats, are very common; and the hyena is also frequently found; but the great potentate of the Himalaya forests and fastnesses, is the bear. This monster attains a great size, and would be very formidable were he as bold as he is savage; which, fortunately for tourists, he is not. The scenery of this portion of the mountains is of superlative loveliness, and the traveller wanders, without effort, among shady and secluded dells, sheltered from the sun by overhauling rocks, festooned with ivy and creepers, and diversified by clumps of holly and wild cherry. Now he enters an open space of greensward, surrounded by patches of wild rose—scenting the fairy dell with their delicious perfume; while a little silvery stream bubbles from the rocks above, and meanders over the elastic turf—its course defined by belts of violets and cowslips, and ferns of every variety, which dance gracefully in the breeze, and lave their feathered heads in the tiny wave as it sparkles on its way to join a sister streamlet, and mingle with the distant torrent.

VILLAGE OF ROGHERA, NEAR THE CHOOR.

THIS pretty and picturesque village is distinguished for the remarkable height and luxuriance of a species of larch, which botanists designate as the *pinus deodora*. The group represented in the accompanying engraving affords a good specimen of the character of this fine tree, which attains an almost incredible height in some parts of the hill districts—the tallest of those delineated measuring 160 feet; but it is asserted, that some are to be found 180 feet in height.

The Choor mountain, from its great altitude and peculiar situation, presents every variety of vegetation that mountainous regions afford; and it is scarcely necessary to proceed further to become thoroughly acquainted with the leafy products of the hills of Hindoostan. The bases of the mountains are carpeted with flowers, anemones, and ranunculuses, mingling with the violet, the cowslip, and the daisy; while the forest scenery is rich and luxuriant to the highest degree. The rhododendron, with its profuse and brilliant scarlet blossoms, is succeeded by oak, walnut, birch, elm, and, lastly, pines. The highest of the two peaks of the mountain being covered for a considerable part of the year with snow, is destitute of verdure; and the lower one, composed of immense granite blocks, is also bare of trees. Where the snow has melted, it reveals stunted shrubs of juniper and currant; but a little lower down, at an elevation of 11,500 feet, the most splendid pines in the world rear their majestic heads. The ferns of these ranges are peculiarly beautiful, and in great variety; while fruits of every kind abound.

THE CHOOR MOUNTAIN.

THE height of the loftiest peak of this magnificent mountain is ascertained to be 12,149 feet above the level of the sea, being the most considerable of the range south of the Himalaya, between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers. From its commanding position, it separates and turns the waters of Hindoostan, the streams rising on the southern and eastern face being forced into the direction of the Pabar, the Giree, the Tonse, and the Jumna, which find their way over the great plain into the bay of Bengal; while those that have their sources to the north and the west, are forced towards the Sutlej and the Indus, and, uniting in the last, pour their waters into the Arabian sea. During a great part of the year, the Choor is hoary with snow; and, in bad weather, intense cold is experienced at a considerable distance below the highest peak. Travellers will here find themselves in a region of ice; and, when the scene is lighted up by the rising moon, may be charmed by the novel effect produced by floods of molten silver, which shed their soft radiance over the carpet of stainless snow. Moonlight—ever beautiful—amid these snowy masses assumes a new and more exquisite form of enchantment. The rugged peaks, stern and chilling as they are, lose their awful character, and become resplendent as polished pearl: the trees, covered with pendant icicles, seem formed of glittering spar; and the face of nature being thus wholly and beautifully changed, imagination suggests to the contemplative mind the presence of another world—beautiful, calm, and tranquil; but cold, still, and deathlike. From such a dream, however, the storms that frequently rage through these solitudes will rudely awaken the enthusiast by suddenly destroying the serenity of the landscape, which, in an instant, becomes enveloped in clouds that, upon some capricious change of the atmosphere, again roll away like a drawn curtain, and reveal the cold, bright, and pearly region beyond. To be overtaken by a snow-storm in crossing the Choor, is one of the least agreeable incidents of a tour amidst the hills; but such frequently happens to be the fate of travellers in these regions.

In a recent instance, some tourists had proceeded satisfactorily thus far; but their journey was not completed without a fair share of the vicissitudes of travel. While marching rather wearily along, the aspect of the heavens changed—the clouds darkened—and, presently, down came a heavy storm of hail, followed by a dense fall of snow. On seeking their tents, they were found bending beneath the flaky burden, which also lay several feet in thickness upon the ground; while no wood could be procured without immense difficulty. Having no fire, there could be no cooking; and the night was passed in a miserably freezing condition by the whole party. Morning dawned only to show a fresh fall of snow, and a prospect of more; for if the fleecy shower ceased for a few minutes, the change merely developed a sullen black canopy above, threatening to overwhelm everything with its gathered burden; but the adverse elements were not the only obstacles to enjoyment. Loud rose the cries of mutiny in the camp of the adventurous travellers; many were the groans of their followers (the native coolies), who did not scruple to vent their feelings in expressive, but fortunately unintelligible, language; while some Mohammedan servants, paralysed and aghast at a predicament so new to them, looked unutterable things. As long as the snow lasted, there was no possibility of doing anything to effect an improvement in the wretched condition of the party, patience being the only alternative from suffering; which it was folly to attempt to teach men dragged into so disagreeable a dilemma against their own consent. The wind all this time continued to blow intensely cold and sharp, adding materially to the sufferings of the unfortunate half-clad native servants; but at length, about noon, the clouds began to break away, and to reveal patches of blue sky, and most welcome glimpses of sunshine: in another hour the heavens became clear and genial, and then some efforts were made to render the situation more endurable. Persuasion, threats, and tempting offers of reward, lavishly distributed, at length induced the half-frozen followers to bestir themselves in real earnest. Having braced their energies to the encounter, and procured sufficient fuel, fires once more blazed in the camp; and though the cold was still severe, its bitterness was alleviated by the influence of the warm potations that were

gratefully imbibed, and cheerfulness pervaded the encampment, until sound and refreshing sleep obliterated all recollection of the storm.

The weather still continuing to improve, the travellers rose in the morning with renovated spirits; and notwithstanding the fierce intensity of the cold, and the difficulties which the large masses of snow encumbering the path threw in their way, they proceeded vigorously onward, sometimes sinking to the waist, and at all times knee-deep in snow, which, concealing the danger of a road over rough and unseen blocks of granite, frequently threatened to precipitate them into some abyss in which life or limb would be perilled. The servants, loaded with baggage, lagged far behind on their unwelcome journey; and their masters were obliged to be content, the following night, with a sort of canvas awning rather than a tent (as only a portion of the latter was forthcoming), and to make a scanty meal of tea and hastily-kneaded cakes of flour.

The servants who had accompanied them from the plains looked upon these occasions as the very images of despair; they were completely at fault, knowing not what to do in so unaccustomed a difficulty, and feeling utterly incapacitated for exertion by the effects of the frost, which shot bolts of ice into their hearts, and froze the very current in their veins. It was impossible not to sympathise with them in their distress as they lay upon the cold ground, when it was recollected how active those same men had been during the burning hot winds, which peeled the skin from the European face, and obliged every one not habituated to an Indian sun to seek shelter from its scorching influence

JERDAIR.

THE small and obscure village of Jerdair stands upon the slope of a mountain in the province of Ghurwal—a tract of country extending, on the north-east, to the summit of the Himalaya; on the north-west to the banks of the Sutlej; and bounded on the east and south by the province of Delhi. The general aspect of the country is exceedingly mountainous, and difficult of cultivation; yet parts of it are tolerably fertile; and, though now but thinly peopled, Ghurwal retains the vestiges of mighty works, the achievements of former possessors of the soil. The sides of many of its hills exhibit a succession of terraces, of very solid construction; and upon the surfaces thus produced, water necessary for the cultivation of rice is still retained. Several branches of the Ganges flow through the valleys of this highly picturesque country, which is regarded with peculiar veneration by the people of Hindoostan, in consequence of its containing the holy ground from which the waters of the true Ganges issue into open light. Formerly this province comprehended all the territory extending to Hurdwar, and stretched eastward to the borders of Nepaul: it is now restricted within much narrower limits.

Notwithstanding its extreme elevation, the climate of Ghurwal, owing to its south-western aspect, is very mild; and though the site of the village of Jerdair presents little more than a bleak and barren waste, the greater part of the province is richly clothed with trees. In many places the productions of the temperate and the torrid zones meet and mingle: the tiger makes his lair upon the confines of eternal snow; and the elephant is enabled to endure the severity of the climate by a provision of nature unknown to animals of his species in warmer latitudes—namely, by a shaggy covering of hair.

The inhabitants of Jerdair, like those of the province generally, are termed Khayasa; and all boast descent from Rajpoots of the highest *caste*, and are therefore exceedingly scrupulous in their eating, and in their regard for the sacred cow. They will not sell one of those animals except upon assurance that the purchaser will neither kill it himself, nor suffer it to be killed by another: their prejudices prevent them from keeping

poultry; and travellers must bring sheep with them for food, or be content to live on fish and game, both of which are exceedingly abundant.

Many of the views of mountain scenery which open as the footpaths wind round projecting points, are magnificently sublime. The high ledges of the rock are the haunts of the chamois, and eagles have their eyries on hoary peaks, inaccessible to the depredations of man. Ghurwal is celebrated for a peculiar breed of ponies, called "ghoouts"—rough, stunted, and shaggy, but exceedingly sure-footed, and well adapted to carry a traveller in safety along the dizzy verge of narrow pathways, from which the eye endeavours in vain to penetrate the darkness of the abyss below.

GRASS-ROPE BRIDGE AT TEREER.

THE village of Tereer, in the province of Ghurwal, is a small and insignificant place, distinguished only by the romantic scenery that surrounds it, and its bridge, which, suspended in mid-air, throws a graceful festoon over the rapid and rock-bound stream below.

Suspension-bridges, formed of grass ropes—the simple and elegant invention of the rude mountaineers of the Himalaya—are of great antiquity in the provinces where they are found, and may be supposed to have given the original hint for the chain-bridges of Europe. The bridge at Tereer is a beautiful specimen of its class, the adjacent scenery on either side of the river, adding much to its picturesque effect. In some of the hill districts, where the natural advantages of the country are not so great, the bridge is suspended from scaffolds erected on both banks of the stream. Over these are stretched ropes of great thickness, to afford on each side a support for the flooring, which is formed of a ladder, wattled with twigs and branches of trees, and attached to the balustrade by pendent ropes. The main ropes are extremely slack, and, where the banks are not very high, the centre of the bridge is sometimes within a foot of the water; but even at this trifling altitude, the danger from immersion is very great, since the current of the mountain streams runs with such impetuosity, that the best swimmer would find considerable difficulty in effecting a safe landing. The ropes of the bridge at Tereer are constructed from the long coarse grass which grows on the sides of the hills; each is about the size of a small hawser, and is formed with three strands. They are obliged to be renewed constantly; and even when in their best condition, the passage across is, from its altitude, rather a perilous undertaking. Some very melancholy accidents have occurred to European visitors upon the fragile bridges among the hill districts.

But there are still more extraordinary methods resorted to by the natives who reside near Rampoor, on the banks of the Sutlej. The river at this place is about 200 feet broad, and, during the summer months, is crossed by a jhoola or swing bridge, which is erected in May, and is usually employed until the early part of September; after which time there is no bridge, but the passage across the river is effected upon the hide of a buffalo or bullock, inflated with air, on which a single person, together with the ferryman, can be conveyed. The latter throws himself on his breast athwart the skin, and directs its course by the rapid action of his feet in the water, assisted by a paddle three feet in length, which he holds in his right hand. He thus crosses the stream with ease; but it is sometimes necessary to launch two or three skins together, in order more effectually to stem the force of the current. The passenger by this conveyance sits astride the back of the ferryman, resting his legs on the skin; and the tail and legs of the bullock being left entire, serve to support and prevent him from being wetted. There is some danger of the bursting of the skin, in which event the passenger finds himself in a disagreeable predicament; for the velocity of the current is so great, and the river so full of rocks, that an expert swimmer would hardly succeed in reaching

the shore. When natives of rank desire to cross the river during the season that the jhoola is relieved from duty, a commodious seat is improvised by lashing two or more skins together, and then placing a charpoy, or common bedstead, across them; which, although not very dignified in appearance, is always found to answer the purpose for which it is designed.

The province of Ghurwal chiefly consists of an assemblage of hills in close contiguity, the distance between each range being exceedingly circumscribed, and not a spot is to be seen that would afford room for an encampment of 1,000 men. Some of the ranges are covered with wood, and wear an aspect of eternal verdure; among them, the arbutus and other flowering trees attain to great perfection, and the polyandria monogynia, which grows to the height of forty feet, and loads the air with most fragrant perfume. In other places, ridges of bare rock are piled upon each other; and the whole is wild, broken, and overrun with jungle. There is but little cultivation, and the revenues of the province have always been inconsiderable.

It is reported by a native writer, that the district, in consequence of its poverty, was for many years exempted from tribute. Akbar, however, not being willing that any of his neighbours should escape a mulct, demanded from the chief of Ghurwal an account of the revenues of his raj, and a chart of the country. The rajah being then at court, repaired to the presence the following day; and, in obedience to the imperial command, presented a true but not very tempting report of the state of his finances; and, as a correct representative of the chart of his country, facetiously introduced a lean camel, saying—"This is a faithful picture of the territory I possess—up and down, and very poor." The emperor smiled at the ingenuity of the device, and told him, that from the revenue of a country realised with so much labour, and in amount so small, he had nothing to demand. The province, however, subsequently paid an annual tribute of 25,000 rupees.

JUBBERAH.

THE village of Jubberah lies to the north of the Mussooree and Marma ridges, on the route from the latter to the source of the Jumna. The hills at this place have the regular Himalaya character—a three-quarter perpendicular slope to a hollow, whence abruptly a similar eminence rises. From the summit of a neighbouring promontory may be obtained one of those striking views which so much delight the lovers of the picturesque; but which, though they fill the bosom with strange and thrilling sensations, are unfitted for canvas. The pure white pyramid of one of the highest of the snowy range, towers in bold relief to the clear heaven, which it seems to touch, contrasting grandly with the dark hills in front; yet with a transition so abrupt, that persons who never beheld so novel an effect, would fancy the attempt to pourtray it as some eccentric whim of the artist. A very common remark applies peculiarly to the scenery of the Himalaya—namely, that the most usual Oriental sky is often thought to be an exaggeration when its mellow beauty is represented on canvas or paper; and yet, in reality, no painting can afford a just idea of its glory.

The skies of England, though not without their charms, and producing occasionally some fine effects, do not suggest the slightest notion of this mountain hemisphere, with its extraordinary variety of colours—its green and scarlet evenings, and noon-day skies of mellow purple, edged at the horizon with a bazy straw colour. It is impossible, in fact, to travel through the Himalaya without perpetually recurring to the rich and changeful hues of its skies; every day some hitherto unnoticed state of the atmosphere producing some new effect. This is particularly the case at dawn; for while the lower world is immersed in the deepest shade, the splintered points of the highest ranges, which first catch the golden ray, assume a luminous appearance, flaming like crimson lamps along

the heavens; and as yet they seem not to belong to earth, all below being involved in impenetrable gloom. As daylight advances, the whole of the chain flushes with a deeper hue—the grand forms of the nearer mountains emerge, and night slowly withdrawing her veil, a new enchantment pervades the scene: the effects of the lights and shadows are now not less beautiful than astonishing, as they define distant objects with a degree of sharpness and accuracy that is almost inconceivable. Until the sun is high up in the heavens, the lower ranges of the mountains appear to be of the deepest purple hue; while other summits, tipped with gold, start out from their dark background in bold and splendid relief. A new and sublime variety is also afforded when a storm is gathering at the base of the snowy chain; and dark rolling volumes of clouds, spreading themselves over the face of nature, impart an awful character to the scene.

One of the most delightful spots in the vicinity of Jubberah, is found on a rocky platform, scooped by the hand of nature, in the precipitous side of a lofty mountain. Above the level, crag has piled itself on crag, the interstices being clothed with luxuriant foliage: from the rifts in the sides of the mountain, forest trees lift their spreading branches to extraordinary heights; while below, creepers, of countless variety and exquisite beauty, fling their garlands and festoons in graceful undulations over the ground. In front of this platform are a chaotic confusion of hills, some separated from the rest by deep and narrow ravines; while others run off into long ridges, whose ramifications are interminable.

VIEW AT DEOBUN.

TRAVELLERS in the Himalaya must early accustom themselves to the most dangerous and slippery means of crossing the deep ravines or mountain torrents that it is possible for man, in an artificial state, to imagine; and the bridge represented in the accompanying plate, over a tremendous rocky chasm at Deobun, is one of the expedients for getting over a difficulty that seems almost as much fraught with peril as the abyss it spans. Habituated from infancy to the sight of the steepest and most formidable precipices in the world, the mountaineers of the Himalaya are indifferent to circumstances that produce giddiness in the heads of those who may have hitherto traversed comparatively level ground. The cattle of these mountains, also, guided by some extraordinary instinct, can make their way in safety over the frail and slippery bridges which at some places span rapid streams, and, at others, are thrown across deep ravines. Morning and evening the flocks and herds may be seen passing the narrow footways; and, accustomed to their daily path, they will cross to their distant pastures, or to their way home, without any human being to direct them. To the great difficulty of communication that exists in the hill districts, it is possible the low intellectual state of the mountaineers of the Himalaya may, perhaps, in a great measure be attributed.

Living in isolated circles, apart from each other, and separated by frightful precipices or gloomy ravines, the people of the hills have little opportunity for acquiring information by any interchange of ideas with their neighbours, and they grovel on through life without an effort to improve their condition, or a desire to increase the facilities of access to the adjoining districts; and the number of Europeans who visit the hills for health or amusement, is too small to effect much in the way of example, except in the immediate vicinity of the stations which they have themselves established.

THE VILLAGE OF MOHUNA.

THE village of Mohuna is situated upon a high ridge in the secondary Himalaya, stretching between the Tonse and the Jumna, which, at this place, is called Deobun, and gives its name to a tract lying to the north-westward of Landour. The ridge itself is characterised by many of the beauties peculiar to these mountain streams, and presents a succession of rugged rocks piled grandly upon each other, entwined with lichens and creepers of every kind and hue, and affording, at intervals, large clefts, whence spring the giant wonders of the soil—magnificent trees of immense growth and redundant foliage.

The lofty, precipitous, and almost inaccessible rocks above the village, are the favourite haunts of the musk-deer, a denizen of these mountains, and highly prized by hunters, who recklessly scale the apparently insurmountable crags, and risk life and limb to secure this scarce and much-coveted species of game. English sportsmen in the hills often obtain a fair shot at the animal; but the natives have another and surer method of securing the prize. No sooner is a musk-deer espied, than the people of the nearest village are informed of the fact, and the whole population being interested in the intelligence, it is conveyed with extraordinary celerity through the hills. The country being thus up, a cordon is formed round the destined victim; heights are climbed that appear to be perfectly impracticable; and men are to be seen perched like eagles upon the steepest points and pinnacles. The moment that the whole party have taken up their position, the assault is commenced by hurling down large fragments of stone; and presently, the shouts and cries of the hunters so bewilder the affrighted animal, that he knows not where to run. Meantime he is wounded—the ring closes round him—he seeks in vain for some opening, and, in the desperation of his terror, would plunge down the first abyss; but there, also, he is met by horrid shouts; while, struck to the earth by some overpowering blow, he sinks to rise no more. The musk-deer are seldom met with lower than 8,000 feet above the level of the sea; and every attempt to keep them alive in a state of captivity has failed.

The natives of these districts are generally goodnatured and obliging, and may be easily managed by kindness: the women are particularly attentive to the Europeans who wander among the mountains, and are said to manifest a very amiable consideration for their comforts.

VALLEY OF THE DHOON.

To the European tourist unsatiated by previous wanderings among the wild and magnificent scenery of the Himalaya, the varied and extensive views obtained from the Mussooree hills, afford daily sources of healthy and picturesque enjoyment. Among these heights, rugged and sometimes intricate footpaths conduct to points from whence the range of vision embraces romantic glens and amphitheatres of rocks, scattered over the beautiful valley of Deyrah Dhoon, which stretches out in the distance, intersected by the Ganges, pursuing its course towards the plains in devious windings that occasionally burst into sight, and glitter in the sunlike streams of molten silver. Beyond this, the eye ranges boundlessly over space, the distance being softened into the tint of the atmosphere, and rendering it impossible to distinguish the line of horizon that separates the heavens from the earth.

The close vicinity of the valleys of Kearda and Deyrah Dhoon to Mussooree, renders the latter station particularly eligible for parties who seek excitement in the pursuit of

tigers. The surrounding forests abound with bears, leopards, and wild elephants; but they live in comparative safety, since the coverts are so heavy, and so completely cut up by deep and precipitous ravines, that they are inaccessible to the mounted sportsman. Lower down, however, where the tiger chiefly roams, elephants may be brought against the tawny monarch of the wilds. A *battue* of this kind, when there are several elephants in the field, and a proportionate number of scouts and beaters, affords a wild and animated picture, in strict keeping with the jungle scenery. The adventures of a small party of Europeans from Mussooree, in connection with a tiger hunt in this locality, are always a source of interest; and the story of one expedition of the kind may be described in illustration of the fact.

When arranging for a field-day among the denizens of the jungle, men are sent forward upon the look-out, to take their position upon the trees near the appointed scene of action, being thus, by their elevation and experience, enabled to give information of the whereabouts of the animal sought for; which though often charging with great spirit when first aroused, generally endeavours to change its original quarters for a lair of greater security. The Europeans referred to, having received intelligence that three tigers had taken possession of a particular spot, proceeded to beat down the banks of a ravine for several hours, without finding any trace of them, and were beginning to suspect they had been misinformed, when, coming to a patch of very tall jungle-grass, they stumbled upon the remains of a bullock, half-eaten, and exhibiting unmistakable indications that the *gourmand* had not long risen from his meal; thus affording hopes that the unexpected and unwelcome visitors were at no great distance from his after-dinner retreat. Advancing, accordingly, through the jungle, the leading elephant presently began the peculiar kind of trumpeting which indicates uneasiness, and plainly showed that the intruders were not far from the object of their search; besides which, several deer had started off about 300 yards in advance of the party, in evident terror—affording another indication of proximity to the animal sought for. At length a distant view of an enormous tiger was caught, as he endeavoured to cross a ravine; and one of the party fired at him a long shot, which only had the effect of accelerating his pace. The elephants now pushed on; two more shots were fired, and suddenly the tiger fled across an open space in front of his pursuers, who followed as rapidly as possible, crossing and crashing through the bed of a nullah, to which the animal had betaken himself. While thus in full chase, two fresh tigers got up growling angrily, almost under the feet of the sportsmen; and, after the discharge of a few shots, haughtily and slowly retired to cover. Presently the glare of an eye piercing through some brushwood betrayed the retreat of one of the monsters; and a ball, aimed with excellent precision, passing through his brain, he fell without an effort to resent the insult offered to him in his native haunts. The second tiger was also dispatched in a very short time, though it took several shots to stretch him on the ground; but the third was still abroad, and apparently as yet unhurt. Upon arousing him for the third time, the brute went off again in good style, but considerably ahead. At length a long shot from a rifle struck him, and the infuriated animal turned and charged his assailants gallantly, fortunately offering too fair a mark to be missed by them; and thus, just as he crouched to spring upon the foremost elephant, a well-aimed bullet stopped its career, and it fell lifeless. On that day the party returned to their camp in great triumph, with three royal tigers borne by the baggage elephants, and presenting a cavalcade that Landseer might not have thought unworthy of his pencil.

On the following day the same persons proceeded along the Dhoon, without any intention of looking for tigers, but with a hope to obtain some deer on their way. While beating some lemon-bushes, to their great surprise an immense tiger broke cover, and went off before they could get him within range. A considerable space of open country, interspersed with swamps, and bounded by a thick forest, formed the hunting-ground on this occasion; and the success of the sport depended on their turning the animal before he could reach the forest: the pedestrians of the party were therefore directed to climb the trees, and to shout with all the power of their lungs if the tiger approached their stations. Meantime the animal had been lost sight of; but his pursuers were guided to the vicinity of his lair by a flock of vultures perched upon a tree—a

tolerably sure indication that the royal larder was at no great distance. The cover here was exceedingly heavy, and great difficulty was sustained in beating; but, after some time, a sudden glimpse of a tawny stripe through the jungle-grass, gave assurance that the search had not been in vain. The elephants now began to trumpet forth their apprehensions with increased vigour, but the hunters pushed forward, being warned, by the shouts of the people in the trees, that the tiger was making for the forest. Turned at all points, the creature doubled back, and got into a long narrow strip of high jungle-grass, which was separated from a dense wood on the right by about twenty yards of bare bank, and divided from the heavy covers he had abandoned by a pool of clear water. The sportsmen immediately beat up this strip, leaving an elephant on the bank to prevent a retreat to the forest. Presently the tiger got up about 200 yards ahead, and again doubling back, one of the party had a fair shot, which brought him on his haunches, until another ball made him move off to some broken ground, where he took up his last position. As the party advanced, the noble animal was seen in the grandeur of his rage, lashing his tail, roaring, and grinding his teeth, preparatory to a charge; and, on firing again at him, the provocation was complete, and his rage became furious. With a roar that made the whole dell echo, he sprang forward upon the party, the whole of whom fired simultaneously, and the splendid animal fell lifeless at the very feet of the elephants.

THE CITY AND FORTRESS OF NAHUN.

THE city of Nahun is situated forty-six miles north-west of Saharunpoor, and is the capital of the small province or raj of Sirmoor. The place, though small, is considered one of the best designed and handsomely built cities in India, and is approached through a very picturesque, well-watered, and finely-wooded valley, which the city, from its position on the summit of a rock, commands. The country round about is intersected with valleys and ravines, clothed in the richest luxuriance of foliage and verdure; the Deyrah Dhoon stretching out in the distance to the south-east, and the comparatively low belts of hills in the neighbourhood affording very pleasing specimens of mountain scenery. The road leading to the town is exceedingly steep and narrow, and is cut in a precipitous ascent, which, however, is surmountable by elephants, even when encumbered by baggage. On entering the place, the streets have the semblance of stairs, so numerous are the steps occasioned by the unevenness of the rock on which they range; yet the inhabitants of the place may be seen riding about on horseback, and mounted on elephants, as if the place were a perfect level. Within view of the city is the fortress of Tytock, 4,854 feet above the level of the sea; which cost the lives of four British officers in its capture during the Goorka war. The fall of those brave men is commemorated by a lofty obelisk, which marks their graves, and presents an object of melancholy interest to wanderers who come suddenly upon the remote resting-places of their countrymen. Nahun is considered to be healthy, though rather inconveniently warm, notwithstanding its elevated position at upwards of 3,000 feet above the sea-level.

The late rajah of Nahun was rather proud of his *killar*, or fortress, which is of imposing appearance, and contiguous to the city, and he seldom omitted to invite European strangers that might be in the vicinity, to pay him a visit and inspect his troops, the latter being neither very numerous or highly disciplined; their unsoldierlike appearance readily accounting for the facility with which the more martial Sikhs and Goorkas possessed themselves of the territory of their chief. This rajah, who was indebted to British aid for the rescue of his dominions from the Goorkas, was always exceedingly polite and attentive to Europeans, and readily afforded them every assistance while within his territory.

Few things could be more absurd than the interviews which occasionally took place between the small native potentates of India and the civil or military European travellers, that by chance found themselves passing through a remote rajahship. The tourists, when pounced upon for a visit of ceremony, were usually in the deplorable state of dishabille natural to travellers among the wild scenery of the hill districts, and might consider themselves supremely fortunate if they possessed a decent coat at hand to exhibit upon the occasion. A long journey had, in all probability, sadly deteriorated the appearance of the cattle and the followers; and the traveller might feel perfectly willing, and even desirous, to relinquish the honour about to be conferred upon him; but he could have no choice. The rajah, on the other hand, was anxious to exhibit as a personage of importance; and having given due notice of his intended visit, would pay his respects to the fugitive representative of Great Britain, with all the pomp and circumstance he could command. The cavalcades on such occasions were sometimes exceedingly picturesque, and afforded a striking display of elephants handsomely caparisoned, ornamented howdahs and litters, gaudily-dressed troopers, and crowds of men on foot, brandishing swords, silver maces, and rusty matchlocks; while the deep and rapid sounds of the kettle-drums, and the shrill blasts of the silver trumpets, came upon the ear in wild and warlike melody. It was indispensably necessary, notwithstanding the numerous discrepancies appearing in the make-up of the reception by the multitude of ragged followers, and the consciousness of the unfitness of well-worn travelling costume as accessories to a visit of state, that the much-honoured stranger should preserve a steady countenance, since any indulgence of the risible faculty would, upon such an occasion, have given mortal offence; and by no effort at explanation, would levity of manner be attributed to other than intentional insult. The sensitiveness of the rajah of Nahun might possibly have been increased by the fact of his impoverished condition, the territories of which he was chief consisting merely of the thinly-peopled and scantily-cultivated mountainous regions between Deyrah and Pinjore, and his revenues being, consequently, of very inadequate amount on which to support the state of an independent chieftain.

BOWRIE, RAJPOOTANA.

RUINED villages, of which, even prior to the revolt of 1857, there were already an abundance in India, are not, however, more plentiful than are the hill fortresses of the upper provinces, and of other parts of the country where mountain defences are possible. In such localities, it seems as if every little rajah or petty chief had, at some time or other, climbed an eminence, and intrenched himself within walls of mud or stone, according as his means would enable him, and opportunities for the purpose served: his eagle's nest was then garrisoned by troops of adherents or retainers, armed with spears and bows, and rusty matchlocks, and every household became invested with a military character. Nor was this without sufficient cause, since when not engaged in combating an invading stranger, these chieftains were constantly at feud with each other, and had no security for life or property except when fortified upon heights they deemed inaccessible to a hostile force. The native idea, that safety was best found at great elevations, has doubtless greatly improved the appearance of the country in the hill districts; and whatever modern fortifications of European construction may have gained in strength, they have certainly lost in picturesque effect, as is quite evident when the bastions and towers of the Mohammedan era are compared with the fortifications of the present age.

The country comprehended under the name of Rajpootana, embraces so many districts, that every variety of scenery is to be met with in it; but though the valley of Oodipoor, and other equally beautiful portions, are celebrated for the exquisite loveliness of their landscapes, the general character of the country is that of sterility. The

landscape, therefore, represented in the plate as surrounding the fortress of Bowrie, may be considered a favourable specimen, as wood and water, which fail in many other tracts, are there abundant. The banian supplies its umbrageous foliage to the scene; and the one represented in the engraving may suffice to give an accurate idea of the manner in which a whole grove is produced from the parent stem—each of the pendant fibres, upon reaching the ground, taking root, and affording support to the branch from which it has descended; thus enabling it to push out further, and fling down other supports, until at length a wide area round the original trunk is formed into avenues, which sometimes cover several acres of ground. The natives, who regard this beautiful product of their country with great veneration, will never willingly consent that a banian tree shall be cut down or mutilated. The small fig produced by the banian, furnishes nutritious food to immense multitudes of monkeys, squirrels, peacocks, and various other denizens of the forests, who live among the branches of this father of trees; and, from the protection it thus affords to the inferior classes of the animal creation, it is not surprising that Hindoos should look upon it as a natural temple, and be inclined to pay it divine honours.

On the banks of the Nerbudda, a tree of this species covered a tract of ground 2,000 feet in circumference; and only the principal stems (250 in number) were counted within that range. Travellers often seek the shelter of these natural pavilions; and the religious tribes of Hindoos are particularly fond of resting beneath their umbrageous canopy. Under many such, a resident Brahmin may be found; and in few instances are the devotees without an attendant priesthood.

MAKUNDRA, MALWA.

THE small, dilapidated, but picturesque village of Makundra, of which the principal street is shown in the accompanying plate, is situated in the valley of Boondee, about thirty-eight miles from Kotah, the capital of the state of that name, and to whose rajah it belongs. Makundra derives its principal claim to celebrity from its being the pass through which, in the summer of 1804, a brigade of English troops, under General Monson, was compelled to retreat after an encounter with Jeswunt Rao Holcar, and to seek safety by a difficult march to Agra. The village is beautifully situated in a valley of circular form, and not more than three-quarters of a mile in diameter. The hills on every side are nearly precipitous; and the pass, defended at the north and south ends by lofty stone walls and gates, guarded by chowkeedars in the service of the rajah of Kotah, is the only means of communication for many miles through the mountain ridge that divides Malwa from the state of Harravali, in Ajmeer.

In the retrograde movement to which reference has been made, it appears that General Monson was offered shelter in this pass by the rajah of Kotah; but the valley had too much the appearance of a trap, to permit the cautious soldier to avail himself of the offer of a prince whose fidelity he could not be assured of; and he preferred the chances of open warfare to the risk of being surrounded in a defile, in which a treacherous and vindictive enemy would have every advantage. The retreat was therefore continued; and though, from the numerous obstacles that had to be encountered in penetrating a wild and difficult country, it was attended with many hardships and losses, still it was considered a masterly evolution, and one that reflected great credit upon the discipline and good conduct of the little force concerned. In India, uninterrupted good fortune is essential, if the favourable opinion of the natives is to be preserved; and in the neighbourhood of Makundra, the retreat is still spoken of as a flight, to which some degree of obloquy is supposed to attach—the inhabitants, in referring to the affair with Holcar, always describing it to have happened at the time “when Monson ran away!” Fortunately, the *prestige* lost by the occurrence has since been

restored, and the adjacent hills and pass have resounded with British shouts of triumph; a force under General Donkin having, not long afterwards, fallen in with the van of Kurreem Khan's horde of Pindarries, near Makundra, which they completely routed, taking the caparisoned elephant of the chief, with his favourite wife and all his baggage. The gallantry of the captors of course secured to the lady the highest degree of deference and protection; but the rest of Kurreem Khan's effects were speedily appropriated by the victors. The spoil underwent a very summary process, being sold by a sort of drum-head auction on the spot, and the proceeds were forthwith divided among the parties interested—the most certain as well as the most speedy method of securing prize-money; but a process by no means satisfactory to prize agents.

Makundra had frequently been the theatre of Pindarrie warfare, and the haunt of Bheel robbers, and other wild predatory tribes, inhabitants of the hills, who, like the generality of mountaineers in the East, consider plundering to be their lawful occupation; but since the dispersion and subjection of the Pindarries, and the entire settlement of Malwa and its adjacent districts, this celebrated thoroughfare has often been the scene of murders still more appalling than those formerly perpetrated by the armed and mounted freebooters, who would gallop into a village and put to the sword all who were unable to effect their escape from the sudden and furious onslaught. The Pindarries at least waged open warfare, and travellers acquainted with their danger provided against it by assembling in large bodies, and furnishing themselves with weapons of defence. In the apparently peaceable state in which the country reposed after the Pindarrie war had terminated, these precautions were abandoned, and solitary travellers, or small parties, set forward upon long journeys, unconscious that their path was beset by assassins, from whom neither riches nor poverty were a protection.

From the time of the first invasion of India by the Monghols and Tartars, the whole of the upper provinces of India have swarmed with a class of banditti, or murderers, called Thugs, or Phansegars, from their dexterity in strangling their victims. These men have secret signs, by which they become known to each other while mingling in communities perfectly unsuspecting of the desperate courses in which they are engaged. During a part of the year they remain quietly in their own homes, engaged in cultivating the land; but, at the end of the rainy season, each village sends out its gang, and parties of from ten or a dozen, to thirty, collect together, and, in the guise of travellers, pursue their way towards the central provinces. They are totally without weapons, and are careful to avoid every appearance which might excite alarm—the instrument with which they perpetrate their murders being nothing more than a strip of cloth. While journeying along the high roads they mark out for destruction all whom they fall in with that do not present a very formidable appearance, following their victims for several days, until they come to a place in which they may conveniently effect their purpose. In lonely parts of the country very little time is lost. A select number of the band (called Lughaes) go forward and dig the graves; those who, by their dexterity and strength, have attained the distinction of being stranglers (Bhuttotes), slip the cloth round the necks of the doomed, whose bodies are stripped in an instant, and carried off to the place selected for interment. In more populous districts greater precaution is used. The murder is generally deferred until nightfall; and the custom adopted in India, of bivouacking in the open air, greatly facilitates the design of the murderers.

Travellers usually carry along with them the materials for their simple repast; they kindle fires on the ground, prepare their cakes of meal, and sit down to the enjoyment of their pipes. The Thugs, who by means of their Sothaes, or inveiglers, employ the most insinuating arts to entice persons pursuing the same route to join their company, appear to be employed in the same preparations; but, at a given signal (generally some common and familiar word, such as "bring tobacco"), the work of death commences, and is perfected often in full view of some neighbouring village. Nothing, however, occurs which could give a distant spectator an idea of the tragic scene enacting before his eyes: one or two persons are seen singing and playing on the tomtom, in order to impart an air of careless festivity to the group, and to drown any cry that might escape the victims. The murders are simultaneously performed upon all the party marked out for destruction, and the dim and fast-fading twilight involves the whole scene in impenetrable obscurity. The bodies are hastily deposited in the ground, and fires are

immediately kindled upon the spot, to prevent the traces of newly-turned earth from being discernible. When the accumulation of booty becomes large, a detachment is sent off with it to some convenient depôt, where it is sold or otherwise disposed of for the benefit of the gang. Pedestrian travellers in India often carry valuable property about with them, both in money and ornaments; and as appearances are often deceitful, the Thugs make no distinction, and seize upon those who bear the marks of poverty as well as upon persons of substance, accompanied by baggage and attendants. They are careful not to attack the inhabitants of a place through which they may have to pass, as a person missing from a village would possibly lead to their detection. Months may elapse after the victims of Thuggee have mouldered in their graves, before suspicion of their fate has risen in the minds of their relatives, in consequence of the immense distance which wayfarers in India traverse to their various destinations, and the slowness of their method of travelling.

This terrible race of assassins have agents and abettors among the inferior members of the police, who are known to furnish them with important intelligence, and to use the most artful endeavours to explain away appearances which might tend to criminate them. The institution still exists; but the energetic measures of late taken by government, with a view to its thorough eradication from the soil of India, will probably, at no distant period, have the effect of putting an end to the practice of Thuggee by the worshippers of Bhowanee, the "destroyer."

TRAVELLERS AND ESCORT IN KATTEAWAR.

THE name of Katteawar is frequently applied by the natives to the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat, which is situated principally between the 21st and 24th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded on the north by the province of Ajmeer, on the south by the sea and the province of Aurungabad, on the east by Malwa and Kandeish, and on the west by a sandy desert, the province of Cutch, and the sea. The south-western quarter of the province approaches the shape of a peninsula, formed by the gulfs of Cutch and Cambay; and the interior is inhabited by various tribes of professed robbers, who prey not only upon their peaceable neighbours, but also on one another; and, being all well mounted, they extend their depredations to a considerable distance, and render travelling, unless in large and well-armed companies, very insecure. The influence of European association may, in some trifling degree, have repressed this tendency to lawless appropriation; but, being accustomed for ages to a predatory life, the natives of this district are very reluctantly compelled to relinquish habits congenial to their nature, and never fail to return to them upon every favourable occasion. They are a bold, warlike race, but not numerous—a circumstance partly owing to the practice of female infanticide.

The predatory disposition of the inhabitants of Katteawar (or Guzerat), renders it necessary, as before observed, that those who undertake long journeys among them should travel well protected. The scene represented in the plate shows a party of travellers, with their escort, just arriving at the halting-ground, which has been chosen on a plain, thickly scattered over with the remains of tombs and other edifices. The sepulchres of India are so completely devoid of those features that in other countries naturally render them distasteful to the living, that travellers seldom make any objection to take up their temporary abode among them, as wells are generally found in their vicinity; and the localities selected are usually pleasant; while, during the greater portion of the year, the nights in India are so remarkably fine, that the shelter afforded by a pavilion open (as the one in the plate) to all the winds of heaven, proves quite sufficient for comfort. Fires are then speedily lighted for the evening bivouac, animals unloaded, and the baggage piled in some place that offers the greatest chance of security

A cloak or blanket, or at most a thin mat or mattress, suffices for a bed; and, altogether, a night encampment in India often embraces more of comfort than persons unacquainted with the climate and the manners of the people can readily imagine possible.

The people of Katteawar trouble themselves but little about the distinctions of caste. Rajpoots by descent, and children of the sun, they worship that luminary; but while equally superstitious with the Hindoos, they are certainly not influenced by the same excess of religious zeal. The province is famous for a breed of horses which is esteemed throughout India; and its camels, which come from Marwar (a district in the north of Guzerat), are also considered the finest in India, being taller, more muscular, and of a more tractable disposition than any other of their species.

ZANGHERA, OR THE FAKEER'S ROCK—ON THE GANGES.

THE river Ganges, in its progress through the plains, waters many spots of remarkable beauty; but in the whole course of its brilliant career, it can scarcely boast a more splendid landscape than that in which the rocks of Zanghera form a prominent feature. Standing boldly out in the stream, near a place called Sultangunge, in the province of Behar (about ninety miles east of Patna), this picturesque pile forms a beautiful object. It consists of several masses of grey granite, heaped one upon the other in an irregular manner, forming ledges and terraces, which have become the sites of numerous small temples. In some places, a crevice in the side of the rock has afforded room for the roots of magnificent trees to shoot upwards, and crown the romantic height with bright foliage.

Zanghera is supposed to have been, in former times, connected with the mainland by an isthmus; but the action of the river, in its ceaseless rolling towards the sea, has long since worn a passage for its waters between the rock and the shore, and the former is now completely isolated. From time immemorial the spot has been reputed eminently sacred, and a succession of fakeers have established themselves upon it, who derive a considerable revenue from the offerings of pious voyagers and tourists on the river. At the back of the rock, a ghaut, or landing-place, has been constructed, whence rude stairs conduct the pilgrims who are desirous to perform their orisons at the hallowed shrine, to a temple at the summit, dedicated to Naryan, who reigns here as principal deity of the place. An idol of the myth *adorns* the temple that crowns the romantic pile; and his image, with those of Vishnu, Seeva, and other gods of the Hindoo pantheon, is carved on different parts of the rock.

The chief fakeer of this singular establishment preserves a dignified seclusion; and when, upon rare occasions, he condescends to reveal himself to suppliant devotees, seems as motionless and silent as the idol he worships. At such times he appears seated on a tiger-skin, and is unencumbered with any covering except the chalk and ashes that form his sacerdotal garment, and with which he is profusely smeared, to the intense admiration of his followers. This personage has, however, numerous disciples and attendants, who, by their noisy importunity, make up for the silence of their chief, and are at the trouble of exacting tribute, or endeavouring to do so, from all who pass the rock, whatever may be their creed or country. These fellows watch the boats upon the river, as they approach either way, and pushing out from the rock whenever the state of the water will permit, follow the voyagers with noisy importunities until a satisfactory contribution has been obtained; but when the Ganges is full, and the current, strengthened by the melting of the snow, comes down in an impetuous flood, there can be no loitering under the rock of Zanghera; and a vessel sailing up with a strong wind against this tide, makes rather a perilous navigation as it stems the rapid waters. In going down the Ganges at such a time, the rock is passed by the voyager as if he were an arrow shot from a bow, and

it is only possible to snatch a transient glance of its picturesque beauty ; but when the river is low, and the current flows gently, it can be viewed at leisure ; and many persons, under such favouring circumstances, land, that they may obtain a momentary glance at the grim deity of the temple, and its no less repulsive high priest.

Zanghera stands at the very portal of Bengal, a district differing very widely from the high table-land of Hindoostan proper. The arid plains and bare cliffs that, except during the season of the rains, give so dreary an aspect to the upper provinces, are now succeeded by fields of never-fading verdure ; as the damp climate of Bengal maintains vegetation in all its brilliance throughout the year—the period of the rains being only marked by a coarser and ranker luxuriance, proceeding from the redundancy of plants that overspread the soil. Zanghera, thus happily placed between the rugged scenery of the upper provinces and the smiling landscapes of Bengal proper, partakes of the nature of both ; the Ganges spreading itself like a sea at the foot of the rock on one side, while on the other a wide expanse of fertile country lays revealed, having for a background the low ranges of hills that separate Behar from Bengal.

COLGONG—ON THE GANGES.

THE remarkable cluster of rocks at Colgong—about a day's sail below Zanghera—claims prominent notice amidst the exceedingly picturesque scenery of the Ganges. In the rainy season, the mighty river rushes through them with frightful turbulence, spreading out its broad waters like an ocean, of which the projecting points of Colgong and Pater-gotta form an extensive and beautiful bay, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills.

These rocks are esteemed holy by Hindoo devotees, and are sculptured in many places with rude effigies of their gods. Wild garlands, formed by the luxuriant creepers of the soil, fling their rich wreaths over the rugged faces of the crags ; and tangled shrubs spring from wherever a shallow bed of earth permits them to take root. The luxury of rich foliage can scarcely at any place be seen to greater advantage than from the rocky islets of Colgong, which overlook woods spreading in all directions on the opposite shore ; while beyond, the Rajmahal hills gleam with the purple glory of the amethyst. These crags are the haunts of numerous birds : pigeons nestle in the trees ; and, on the slightest alarm, myriads of small waterfowl rush out in snowy flocks, and add, by their noisy flight, to the animation of the scene ; while the numerous flotillas of native craft, of strange but highly picturesque construction, serve hourly to increase the beauty of the surrounding view.

Colgong is the occasional habitation of a fakcer, but is not the settled residence of any recluse of celebrity, as is Zanghera. Here there are no regular temples, although a rude shrine has been shaped out of one of the largest blocks of granite that crown the summit of the rock to the westward of the group. There are also caverns in these islets ; and it is seldom that either a living or dead specimen of the religious mendicants that swarm over India, is not to be found among them.

All the mooring-places within a day's sail of Colgong, are distinguished for their surpassing beauty ; and the whole voyage hence, down to Calcutta, conducts the tourist through a region of enchantment. Rajmahal, a once royal city on the Ganges, about sixty-five miles north-west of Moorshedabad, particularly merits the attention of all who have any taste for charming scenery ; and the ruins of its once splendid palaces add a melancholy interest to the landscape that surrounds them. The origin of this city is lost in the obscurity of ages ; but it is certain that it has possessed importance and dignity as the capital of Bengal, during a long succession of princes, who profusely embellished it with tasteful architecture. The stone principally found in these interesting remains is a red granite, and its colour, decayed by age, harmonises with the foliage in which vast masses of it are embedded. Occasionally, some remains of marble—the favourite mate-

rial of the luxurious Moguls, brought into use about the period of Akbar—are met with. Among the relics of its past magnificence is a hall of noble dimensions, erected by the Sultan Shuja, the brother of Aurungzebe—lined throughout with costly marbles; but which, of late years, has been employed as a receptacle for coals to supply the steamers that navigate the river.

The reverence for the dead, which is a distinguishing trait of the natives of India, is strongly manifested in the lonely tombs that occupy the heights around Rajmahal. Wherever the traveller comes upon one of those mausoleums, however neglected and apparently deserted the place may be, he is certain to find traces of pious care from human hands. The precincts of a tomb may, perhaps, be the haunt of a solitary jackal, or other beast of prey, too little accustomed to man's intrusion to be alarmed at his approach; and yet, even when it would seem the prowling savage was sole tenant of the wild, the newly-swept pavement, strewn with fresh flowers, shows that some human being has recently performed a pious task. It is not always possible to guess who has been at the pains to keep the shrine free from the pollutions of bats and birds; but occasionally, scarcely more human in his outward form than the wild animals that range amidst these solitudes, some attendant fakir will slowly advance to sight, his long, matted locks, and the distinguishing marks of his caste and calling (chalk and dirt), forming his sole attire. Money to a personage so totally independent in the way of clothing and lodging, if not of food also, would appear to be perfectly superfluous; but though not always solicited, it is never rejected; and considering that where there are no garments there can be no pockets, the rapidity with which an offered rupee vanishes is truly marvellous.

SEIKS HALTING NEAR THE SUTLEJ—THE “KOH-I-NOOR.”

THE native suwarree, or train of a great personage in India, has always formed a picturesque and animated pageant; but through the depressed condition of many of the native chieftains, in consequence of the changes of the last half-century, none, in point of magnificence, could of late years compare with those of Runjeet Sing, a chieftain that, in his progresses, was always accompanied by a glittering train of martial followers, whose flashing swords had won for their master the broad lands and tribute of many warlike tribes that surrounded the state of which he was the dreaded ruler.

Runjeet Sing, like other native potentates, when seen in public, was always attended by hawk and hound, his falconers bearing the royal birds upon their wrists, and having a pack of dogs led before him. Surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade, composed of superb-looking men, mounted upon stately elephants or fiery steeds, and shining in all the barbaric splendour of polished weapons, jewels, and gold, his encampment, or halting-place, realised the *beau ideal* of Asiatic grandeur and romance. In the annexed plate the hoary warrior, who has alighted from his elephant in the midst of a group of his principal officers, is represented as halting under the shade of an immense banian; while the troops forming his ordinary escort are passing the resting-place of their chief, towards the Sutlej, on the opposite bank of which is a fortified Seik town—the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, at a distance of 120 miles, being visible from the spot.

The elephants, camels, and horses of this extraordinary personage were always of the finest breed, and of great beauty. Among the latter animals, he retained, with much pride, a noble horse presented to him by Lord William Bentinck, during the time he held the governor-generalship. This fine creature was of the Suffolk breed, usually employed as beasts of draught in the great brewing establishments of London; but in the hands of the Seik chieftain, it was promoted to the dignity of sometimes carrying the formidable Runjeet himself, who, in consequence of its immense size and breadth, distinguished it by the appellation of *Hathee-sa-ghora* (or Elephant-Horse.)

Upon occasions of state, at one period of his career, Runjeet Sing, whose dress was at all times resplendent with jewellery, seldom appeared without wearing, on some part of his gorgeous attire, the remarkable diamond that has since excited so much curiosity in this country, under the title of the "Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light," which, since his relinquishment of it, has become a brilliant addition to the diamonds belonging to the Queen of England. The history of the method by which the maharajah himself became possessed of the jewel, is as follows:—

In September, 1812, the queens of Shah Shuja and Zemaun Shah, of Cabool, took refuge from the troubles of their country, and were received in Lahore with great demonstrations of regard. Shuja, a deposed king, having been made a prisoner by treachery, was conveyed by the governor of Attock to his brother, who at the time ruled over Cashmere. Two grand objects of Runjeet's ambition and avarice—the possession of that celebrated valley and of the "mountain of light"—appearing now to be brought by fortuitous circumstances within his grasp, he determined, if possible, to make the attainment of the one a pretext for insisting upon the concession of the other; and, with this view, he gave the queen to understand that he was resolved to espouse the cause of her husband in the most chivalrous manner, to liberate him from his confinement, and bestow upon him the fort of Rotas, with sufficient territory for the maintenance of his dignity. The afflicted lady, overjoyed and gratified, expressed her deep appreciation of the intended kindness; and it was then delicately hinted by her attendants, that in order to stimulate her powerful friend to immediate action, it would be advisable to present him with the Koh-i-noor—a gem he had particularly admired. The queen had some suspicion excited by the proposition; but, with great presence of mind, declared herself quite certain, that the moment her husband found himself at liberty, he would be but too happy to gratify the wishes of the invaluable friend who had sympathised in his distress; but that, at the moment, the precious jewel was in pawn at Candahar for two lacs of rupees. Runjeet Sing affected to believe the representation so made; but having exhibited his anxiety to possess the diamond, it became necessary to prevent its being dispatched to a place of security; and, therefore, throwing aside the chivalric character he had assumed for the occasion, he first threw the confidential servants of the unfortunate princesses into close confinement, and then surrounded the abode of their mistresses with sentinels, who had orders to search every person that should attempt to pass them. This step not having the desired effect, Runjeet resorted to one yet more unjustifiable and unmanly, and deprived the ladies and their household of all supplies, either of food or water, for two days. The betrayed princesses still holding out, the Seik chief became at length ashamed of continuing a system that could only terminate in the death of two royal ladies who had claimed his hospitality, and whom he had assured of protection; and was fain to be content with a promise of the jewel, to be redeemed when the imprisoned monarch to whom it belonged should be put in possession of Rotas. Runjeet Sing now began to work in earnest, and having entered into an alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan, they agreed to send a large force into Cashmere (which had rebelled), to subdue the country, and to obtain the liberation of Shah Shuja.

The expedition was successful; but it cost Runjeet Sing rather dearly, many of his Seiks perishing in the snow; and his ally, Futtu Khan, deriving the greater share of advantage from the campaign. The latter chieftain having installed his brother in the government of the valley, the Seik was for the present obliged to be content with the person of the royal captive, who was conveyed to his family at Lahore. The success of the expedition furnished a fair pretext for the renewal of the inhospitable demand for the great diamond; and the king vainly endeavoured to elude the sacrifice, by professing his willingness to fulfil the promise made by his wife, when the restoration of his territory should enable him to redeem the coveted prize. Runjeet, impatient of delay, became incensed at each obstacle to the gratification of his avarice, and at once threw off the mask: he imprisoned his unfortunate guests, threatened them with severe and irksome treatment, and, as a commencement, kept the whole of them without food for several days. Perceiving resistance to be useless, Shah Shuja at length yielded, stipulating for a sum of money and a month's time to pay off the loan on the diamond, and recover possession of it. This was promptly acceded to by the wary Seik, who well knew how easily he could repossess himself of money advanced to a prisoner: he therefore produced

the two lacs required without hesitation, and a day was appointed for the surrender of the Koh-i-noor.

The day arrived; Shah Shuja, the representative of a line of kings, sat in dignified silence opposite his avaricious and false friend, whose family, raised to power by a freak of fortune, could only trace their descent from thieves. It is said that for a whole hour the unfortunate monarch gazed impressively upon the robber-chief, without speaking, and that Runjeet Sing, whom this mute eloquence had failed to move, at length desired somebody acquainted with the Persian language to remind his majesty of the purpose for which they had met. The Shah, without opening his lips, "spoke with his eyes," to an attendant, who retiring, returned with a small parcel, which he placed between the two great men. The envelopes were quickly removed, and the jewellers who were in attendance in the presence, recognised the diamond, and assured their despotic master that the veritable Koh-i-noor was before him.

Having so far triumphed, nothing now remained but to repossess himself of the two lacs, and this was speedily accomplished. Runjeet at once dispatched a picked body of his satellites to the residence of his unfortunate guests, with orders to bring away, without any reservation, the whole of the money and jewels belonging to the party. Those commands were literally obeyed: not only was every ornament taken, but rich dresses also, and such swords, shields, and matchlocks as were mounted in gold or silver. The robber-chief appropriated everything he thought worthy of retention, to his own use, and sent back to the owners those articles he considered of little or no value; observing, at the time, to his people, that "it was useless to get a bad name for such rubbish." Nothing more being procurable, and some feeling of remorse or policy preventing him from taking the lives of those he had so shamefully plundered, Runjeet Sing allowed the females to escape to Loodiana, where, after some time, they were joined by their husbands, on whom the British government settled an annual allowance of 50,000 rupees (£5,000), which they continued to enjoy in security for many years.

THE TOMB OF SHERE SHAH, SASSERAM.

AMONG the vestiges of Asiatic grandeur that still invest the scenery of Hindoostan with great historical interest, the temples and tombs that have been designed to perpetuate the memory of individuals who, from age to age, have exercised dominion over, and have alternately been the scourge and the benefactors of their people, are eminently entitled to notice. Of such edifices, the mausoleum of the Afghan chief, Shere Shah, at Sasseram (a town of the province of Bengal, about 38 miles south of Buxar, and 360 from Calcutta), still affords a remarkable example. The warlike potentate, for the reception of whose mortal remains the immense pile was raised, ascended the throne of Delhi in 1540, having succeeded, by force and by treachery, in expelling from that throne the Hindoo emperor Humayun, one of the most venerated sovereigns of his race. The mausoleum of the usurper, as represented in the plate, is built in the centre of an immense tank, upon a square platform, surrounded by a terrace, approachable from the water on all sides by handsome flights of steps. The building is protected by a high embankment, constructed of the earth displaced for the foundation of the vast pile; and the four angles of the platform are occupied by low dome-crowned towers. The mausoleum itself is of an octagonal form, and consists of two stories surmounted by a dome, each tier having a flat terrace running round it, adorned with small pavilion-shaped turrets open at the sides, and terminated by cupolas; the central dome is similarly crowned, the cupola being in this case supported on four slender pillars, producing an air of lightness and elegance which contrasts with the stern massiveness of the substructure. The whole edifice is constructed of stone from the neighbouring hills, and thereby forms an exception to the usual character of Mohammedan architecture; while the fact vouches for the antiquity of

the building, as, at the period of its erection, marble had not yet been employed in the erection of Mohammedan structures of any kind. The interior of the mausoleum contains several sarcophagi, in which the remains of the fortunate Afghan, and some members of his family, are enshrined.

A majestic solemnity pervades the vicinity of this remarkable structure, whose dark grey walls and mouldering turrets are grouped around the dome-crowned chamber that holds the remains of the most remarkable personage of his day; but the redundancy of foliage that now springs through the interstices which time has worn in the basement of the tomb, affords certain indication of its approaching destruction; and there is little doubt that, unless the shrubs are speedily removed, the foundations will ultimately become undermined by their roots, and that, in a few years, the shapeless ruins of the once magnificent structure will fill up the surrounding tank or reservoir. The building was formerly connected with the mainland by a bridge of five arches, long since destroyed: a portion of the remains are shown in the accompanying plate. In the absence of a bridge or boat, the natives gain access to the platform of the mausoleum by inserting the four legs of a *charpoy* (or bedstead) into earthen vessels, called Kedgarce pots, which float the raft so formed; and then seating themselves upon it, they paddle over, taking care, however, not to strike the jars, as a single fracture would inevitably consign the voyagers to the bottom of the reservoir.

The death of Shere Shah has been variously accounted for by the native historians; some of whom aver that, being an expert marksman and fond of fire-arms, he made an essay, with his own hands, of the capacity of a large piece of ordnance sent to him from Bengal; but the gun, being too heavily charged, burst when the match was applied, and a fragment striking the emperor, killed him on the spot. Ferishta, the historian, attributes the occurrence to the effect of a wound received by the emperor during his siege of the hill fortress of Kallinger, in Bundelkund, in 1545; and, in relating the particulars of the catastrophe, says—"The warlike monarch, though desperately wounded, allowed not his spirit to share in his bodily sufferings, but still continued to cheer on his troops to the attack. The place was vigorously assaulted; and, in the evening, the dying moments of the soldier were soothed by intelligence of its reduction. Exclaiming, 'Thanks to Almighty God!' he breathed his last amidst the lamentations of his victorious army."

The original patronymic of Shere Shah was "Ferrid;" but having in early youth distinguished himself by acts of heroic daring, in the presence of the Sultan Mahmood, his name was changed by that prince to Shere Khan (the Lion Knight, or chief.) He is represented by his biographers as ambitious, cruel, and perfidious, but possessing great abilities for government, and ever earnest in promoting measures for the welfare of the people over whom he had acquired dominion. Among other great works, commenced or perfected by him during his brief reign, was the construction of a main road from the eastern extremity of Bengal to the fort of Rotas, which he had built between the Indus and the Jhelum, extending a distance of above 3,000 miles. Along this road caravansaries were erected at convenient stages, and furnished, by his command, with provisions, to be gratuitously supplied to poor wayfarers, and with attendants of proper *castes* for his Hindoo as well as Mohammedan subjects. Mosques also were built, and wells dug, along the route; the entire distance being planted on each side with fruit trees, for the refreshment and shelter of travellers; thus encouraging commerce, by affording merchants from distant countries unusual facilities for travelling and for the transportation of their goods.

Turning from the remote past to the immediate present, we find that, at an early period of the sepoy revolt of 1857, Sasseram, in common with the adjacent districts, was subjected to continual alarm by the movements of the mutinous troops, as they approached to, or receded from, the vicinity; but it was not until the beginning of August of that year that the town was actually invaded by the rebels. On the 8th of that month, a force of 2,000 men, consisting of the mutineers from Arrah and other places, attacked and plundered the town, destroying all they could not carry away with them. A gallant resistance was maintained for six hours by the townspeople, led by a native in the service of government, named Shah Kubeer Ooddeen Ahmed; and ultimately the rebels withdrew in the direction of Mirzapoor, with the loss of twenty killed, and a great number wounded. Shah Ahmed, who had thus presented an honourable exception to his race, received the thanks of government for his loyal and gallant

conduct, and was subsequently appointed an honorary magistrate in the district of Shahabad; but, as the circumstance of his being the head of a religious institution, rendered it impossible to confer on him any other honorary title, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal recommended that a substantial reward should be provided for him out of the forfeited estates of Koer Sing, when the exact position of those estates should be ascertained.

THE CITY OF BENARES.

THERE are few cities of the Eastern world, however splendid they may be, that present so great a variety of attractive objects at a glance as Benares (*Cashi*, or the splendid), for ages regarded as the holiest of the sacred cities of Hindoostan. The total absence of all regular design, the infinite diversity of the styles of architecture, the continual mixture of the stern and solemn with the light and fantastic, give an indescribable variety to the scene; but the effect of the whole is magnificent, and many of the details are of almost inconceivable beauty.

Benares is situated in the east part of the province of Allahabad, and on the north-west bank of the Ganges, which at this place makes a noble curve of three or four miles, the city occupying the convex side. It is called by the Hindoos of the present era *Varanaschi*, in addition to its ancient appellation. The Brahmins assert that their holy city (*Cashi*) was originally built of gold; but, for the sins of the people, it was changed into stone; and that a further increase in the wickedness of its inhabitants, has since converted a great part of it into clay. It was for many years the most populous city in India.

The annexed view is taken from the upper part of the city. The minarets of Aurangzebe's mosque appear in the distance, and below them is one of those stately and fortress-like mansions that, a short time since, were to be met with in every part of India, though now, through the occurrences of the past two years, for the most part to be found in ruins. Beyond the minarets, to the left, the residence of the Peishwa is visible, towering above the other edifices; and although there is no garden or pleasure-ground attached to this palace, the building affords a fair specimen of the habitations of wealthy Hindoos. Only on one side, next the street, are there outer windows; the range of building on that side containing seven spacious apartments rising over each other, the rest of the chambers opening upon covered galleries which surround three sides of a small court; the communication between the different stories being as follows:—A single flight of stairs leads from the lower to the upper apartment, which must be crossed before the next flight is reached—a mode of construction that accords with the jealous precautions of the inmates. Several of the apartments are furnished with bedsteads peculiar to the Mahrattas—being a platform of polished wood slightly curved, and suspended from the ceiling at an easy distance from the ground; the panels and pillars of the rooms are richly carved, their decorations being composed of rich carpets and silver vessels of various descriptions, elaborately wrought. The ghauts, or landing-places at Benares, are incessantly thronged with people, some of whom are busy lading or unlading the native vessels that are employed in the commerce of this grand mart of Hindoostan proper; while others are drawing water, performing their ablutions, or engaged in prayer; for notwithstanding the multiplicity of their temples, the religious worship of the Hindoo is always offered in the open air.

Although the view of Benares from the river is considered beautiful, yet no correct idea of the city can be formed without penetrating to the interior, threading its mazy labyrinths, and catching a bird's-eye view from some towering height. This opportunity is afforded by the minarets of the numerous mosques that are built about the place; but the ascent is seldom attempted, unless by those who are not afraid of encountering fatigue, and risking some degree of danger; the open cupola or lantern at the top being

gained by steep and narrow stairs, and the apertures for the admission of light and air at the summit being left totally unguarded: few persons can look down from these dangerous apertures without encountering a very painful degree of dizziness and terror.

After winding through lanes and alleys, so narrow that a single individual must be jostled by every person he meets, and where a Brahmanee bull—an animal privileged to roam wheresoever he chooses—may block up the passage, and render it impassable during his pleasure, the astonishment is great, when it is perceived that the closeness of the city is chiefly confined to its avenues. Looking down, as the city spreads itself like a map before him, the tourist is surprised by the stately gardens and spacious quadrangles that occupy the ground between the high buildings that line the narrow streets. Some of these secluded retreats are remarkably beautiful, surrounded by cloisters of stone, decorated with a profusion of florid ornament, and flanked by high towers, from whence the most delightful prospect imaginable may be obtained of the adjacent country, with its fertile plains and ever-shining rivers. Others, smaller, are laid out in *parterres* of flowers, with fountains in the centre; and all are tenanted by numerous birds of the brightest plumage.

Many of the principal habitations in Benares occupy extensive portions of ground; and the seclusion desired by Asiatics in their domestic residences, is completely attained by the mode of building generally adopted, the walls being high, and the towers strong, enabling the females to enjoy something more than the partial glimpse of the heavens, to which the greater portion of Hindoostanee women are confined. It is not an uncommon circumstance for the rajahs and chiefs of India, whose residences are at a great distance from Benares, to build or purchase an habitation in the holy city, to which they may repair during the celebration of the festivals of their idols, and where, also, they may finally spend their last days on earth—since those who die at Benares in the odour of sanctity, and in favour with the Brahmins, are assured of immediate absorption into the divine essence.

Although the rooted hatred entertained by the followers of the prophet against every species of idolatry, incited them to promulgate their own creed by fire and sword, wheresoever their victorious armies penetrated, the desecration of the holy city was not effected until the reign of Aurungzebe, which commenced in 1658. That emperor having determined to humble the pride of the Brahmins, levelled one of their most ancient and most venerated temples with the ground, and forthwith erected on its site a mosque, whose slender spires, shooting upward amidst the golden expanse that surrounds them, seem to touch the skies. In a city so crowded with splendid architectural objects, it required some bold and happy innovation upon the prevailing features, to produce a building which should eclipse them all; and this was happily effected by the mosque of Aurungzebe.

Previous to the erection of this trophy of the Mogul conquest of Hindoostan, the Brahmins pretended that their city could not be affected by any of the changes and revolutions which distracted the world, of which it formed no part, being the creation of Seeva after the curse had gone forth, which brought sin and sorrow upon earth; and ever upheld by the point of his trident. The priesthood have, however, been forced to abate some of their lofty pretensions, since Moslem temples have been raised beside the shrines of their deities; and blood, besides that required for sacrifices, has been, and still continues to be, shed within the precincts of their city.

The reputation for sanctity which this city possesses in the estimation of all Hindoos, renders it an especial point of attraction to pilgrims from most parts of India. A great number of these devotees being exceedingly poor, subsist wholly upon charity, and are, consequently, often reduced to a state of the most abject misery. Many of the native residents of Benares are men of extraordinary wealth, and, as diamond merchants and bankers, have occasionally rendered great service to the state by facilitating the monetary transactions of the East India Company.

Benares is also celebrated as having been, in ancient times, a principal seat of Brahminical learning, and its educational *status* has not been deteriorated by the rule of its English masters. At the time of the establishment of the British empire in India, the schools of Benares were found to be in a declining condition; but an impulse was shortly afterwards given to the progress of native intelligence, by the establishment of the

Hindoo Sanscrit college, in 1791, to which an English class was added in 1827. An unfortunate notion that prevails among the native teachers (many of whom are eminent scholars), that were they to accept any remuneration for their labours, all the religious merit of teaching the *Vedas* would be lost, restrains them from receiving any benefit from the professorships attached to the institution; and as they will not accept payment from their scholars, they are chiefly dependent upon the donations and pensions of the rajahs and wealthy pilgrims who visit the sacred city. For the above reason, the Hindoo college has never flourished to the extent anticipated by its founders.

During the present century many schools have been established in Benares, both by the assistance of the government, and the endowments of native benefactors. In 1843, the province contained six important scholastic foundations, under the inspection of a council of education, established at Calcutta in the previous year. Of these, three were at Benares; namely, the Sanscrit college, the English seminary, and the branch school: the other three were severally at Ghazepoor, Azimghur, and Goruckpoor; and, in the whole of them, there were about 1,300 pupils, most of whom were Hindoos. Many of these native children were instructed in the English, Persian, and Hindoostanee languages, as well as in the other elementary branches of useful education. The London, and other missionary associations, have of late years given considerable attention to the city of Benares, as an important central station for their operations in the religious instruction of the natives of Hindoostan. The government of Benares has been virtually exercised by the English since 1775, the rajah holding merely a nominal authority, and being a stipendiary of the government.

The accustomed quiet of Benares was rudely disturbed in the month of June, 1857, by an unexpected outbreak of the 37th regiment of native infantry, which led to the disarming of that corps, and to a conflict between it and her majesty's troops under Colonel Neill, in the evening of the 4th of that month. In the rencontre that ensued, Captain Guise, of the irregular corps, with several subalterns, were killed. The state of the European residents was, for some time, one of great peril, and the loss of property incalculable.

The extraordinary influence which the British government had for a long time possessed in India, was in no place more strikingly displayed than at Benares, where the Brahmins were formerly undisputed lords of the ascendant, and might commit any act they pleased with perfect impunity; for the Mohammedans, though leaving a proud and defiant emblem of their triumph in the mosque before mentioned, did not make any permanent conquests in the immediate neighbourhood of the holy city. The privileges of a Brahmin are not recognised by the law of the British courts of judicature when they militate against the peace of society or the safety of individuals; and thus, if a murder be proved against him, he must now suffer for the crime as another felon would do; and although all suicides cannot be prevented, they are far less frequently perpetrated than formerly. The curious custom of "sitting dhurna," formerly common among Hindoos, has not, for many years, been practised to so great an extent at Benares as in other parts of India, where debts have been recovered, and grievances redressed, by the most extraordinary means which the weak ever devised to obtain justice from the strong. In sitting "dhurna," the oppressed party, either singly or in numbers, clothed in mourning attire, with ashes on the head, sit down in some spot convenient to the residence of the debtor or oppressor, refusing to eat or sleep until they shall obtain justice. The enemy thus assailed is compelled, by the prejudices of his religion (if a Hindoo), to abstain from food also, until he can come to a compromise, the blood of the person dying under this strange infliction being upon his head. Even Christians, whose consciences have not been so tender upon the subject, have felt themselves awkwardly situated when a "dhurna" has been enacted at their doors, especially at Benares, where, upon one occasion, nearly the whole population assumed the attitude of mourning, sitting exposed to the weather, and to the danger of starving, to procure the repeal of an obnoxious tax.

Benares is famous for several manufactures, and is one of the great marts of the riches of the East. Diamonds, pearls, and other precious gems, are brought hither from all Asia, with shawls, spices, gums, and perfumes. It is only at Benares, and very few other places, that the finest products of the looms of Dacca are procurable. Hindoostanee females of rank delight in attiring themselves in drapery of a texture so thin and trans-

parent as scarcely to be visible, except when folded many times together. This is called "night-dew:" and it is related, that a certain king, objecting to the indecency of his daughter's apparel, was told that she had clothed herself in several hundred yards of muslin. This delicate article is enormously expensive, and, happily, has not yet found its way to the markets of Europe.

HINDOO TEMPLE, BENARES.

THE history of the pagoda, in the annexed engraving, is precisely similar, in many respects, to that of other buildings of equal beauty and antiquity in India. The foundation has been gradually undermined, and the structure it should have supported has sunk into the river whose banks it once adorned. The antiquity of this temple is shown by the pointed mitre-like domes that surmount the towers; the round, flattened cupolas, as seen in the mausoleum of Aurungzebe at Sasseram, not having been introduced into Hindoo architecture until after the occupation of the country by the Mogul invaders.

At an early hour in the morning, the officiating priests of the different temples of Benares commence their daily duties. Some repeat passages from the *Vedas* (sacred books), for the edification of those who bring holy water from the Ganges, to pour upon the idols, or who come to make offerings at the shrines; while others strew flowers around the sacred precincts. Baskets filled with floral treasures, magnificent in size and splendid in hue, are brought for sale to the gates of the temple, the pavements of which are strewn with large red, white, and yellow blossoms, which would form the most brilliant natural carpet in the world, were it not for their destruction by the streams of sacred water that are poured down on all sides while the idols are receiving their customary ablutions.

Priests are but men all the world over; and it is not therefore a surprising fact, that some of these temples maintain a set of dancing-girls, who reside in apartments appropriated to their use, belonging to the establishment. These ladies, who are generally selected for their beauty, are not required to be perfectly immaculate, and are not the less esteemed for a slight defection from the strict rules of morality, in the intervals of leisure between their attendance at religious processions and festivals. Another feature connected with the temples of Hindoostan, consists of crowds of beggars of every description, who block up the avenues to pagodas in particular favour with the devotees. Many of these mendicants are of the most hideous and repulsive description, maimed and distorted, some by the effects of accident, but mostly by the severe inflictions they impose upon themselves by their religious zeal, and by the endurance of which they acquire a reputation for extraordinary sanctity. Whatever opinion a European may entertain as to that acquisition, he cannot for a moment hesitate to admit their claim to extraordinary filthiness and disgusting ugliness. Numbers of these miserable wretches have no covering whatever, except a coating of mud and chalk, with which they bedaub and smear themselves; their long untrimmed beards and shaggy hair being matted with filth of the vilest description. Others there are amongst them who are steady and well clad—who demand alms after the fashion of the mendicant of Gil Blas, and would consider themselves degraded if they condescended to obtain a livelihood by industry, or any other way than that recognised by their peculiar craft.

In the courts of some of the principal pagodas, it is not uncommon to find a fat Brahmanee bull comfortably established. These pampered and petted beasts are suffered to roam at their pleasure through the bazaars, where they help themselves to the grain or vegetables that may be within their reach. No one dare refuse them the food they select, nor may molest them; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances indeed, few would be desirous to dispute the road with an animal so rigidly protected by law, as well as by its own strength. Sometimes these Indian Joves in disguise, will lie down across a

street, and, grown lazy by high feeding, will refuse to rise for hours. In this state of affairs, the Hindoo has no alternative but to wait patiently until the sacred brute shall move of his own accord: but the Mohammedans and Christians of the place, who have less consideration for its sanctity than for its flavour, try a more summary mode of freeing themselves from the obstruction, and do not hesitate to apply their sticks to the venerated hide in their way. It is not denied that the irreverence of the lower classes of both religions sometimes extends so far, that if the darkness of the night favours them upon such occasions with the opportunity, they will quietly lead the animal away to a sequestered spot, where, having administered the *coup de grace*, they for several days afterwards fare sumptuously upon the sacred carcass.

Notwithstanding the sanctity that is accorded by the Hindoos to the whole species, the bulls taken under the protection of the priesthood are alone exempted from maltreatment. A worshipper of Brahma, though he would not kill an ox or a cow for the world, seldom has any reluctance to starve or overwork it, if it is to his advantage or convenience to do either. All the animals belonging to the city of Benares, or any place under the exclusive dominion of the Hindoo priesthood, are secure from violence; but there are a few peculiarly sacred, which go under the name of Brahmanee. The bulls have already been mentioned; there are also Brahmanee ducks and lizards. Of the former, an interesting tradition is still received among the devout Hindoos, who believe them to be animated by the souls of human delinquents, transmigrated into the bodies of those birds, and punished by an extraordinary affection for each other, which renders separation a source of the most poignant anguish. The male and female, it is said, are compelled, by a mysterious instinct, to part at sunset; they fly on the opposite sides of the river, each supposing that its mate has voluntarily abandoned its nest, and imploring the truant to return by loud and piercing cries. The pitiable condition of these mourners has excited the compassion of the Brahmins, who have thrown the *ægis* of their name over the unfortunate beings thus cursed by the gods.

BOODH MONUMENT NEAR BENARES.

THE extraordinary monument, of which a representation is given in the accompanying plate, stands near the European station of Secrole, about four miles distant from Benares, and is an object of great curiosity and interest to all antiquarian travellers. This tower is about 150 feet in circumference, and its remains are yet above 100 feet in height. It is solidly constructed, the lower part having a casing of large blocks of stone neatly joined together, well polished, and decorated near the base with a broad band, on which is carved the figure of Boodh, in a curiously formed medallion, richly enwreathed with foliage and flowers. Around the sub-story of the tower are a series of projections, advancing about eight inches beyond the solid wall, and each having a niche in the upper part. Three of these are shown in the engraving; but the ornaments of the remainder of this remarkable structure (if, indeed, it possessed any) have been swept away by the remorseless hand of time. The upper portion of the ruin has been supposed to be an addition of a period more recent than the original structure, being built of brick; the casing of stone (if it ever had one) having disappeared, and the ruinous state of the summit affording no clue to its original design and formation. The monument is, however, acknowledged to be Boodhist, and is imagined to have been of a pyramidal or globular shape; the forms of these holy places being always similar to the gigantic mounds that, in the early ages, were raised over the ashes of the dead.

The foundations of a very large building are yet to be traced, at about the distance of 200 yards from the tower; and it has been supposed that, in remote times, the priests belonging to the adjacent temple had here a religious establishment, it being the custom to congregate in bodies in the neighbourhood of these temples. These remains, some

fifty years since, attracted the attention of several scientific gentlemen, at that time resident in the European cantonments of Secrole, and they commenced an active investigation of the spot. Their labours were, after some time, rewarded by the discovery of several excavations, filled with an immense number of flat tiles, having representations of Boodh modelled upon them in wax.

The temples of the Boodhists are mere tombs, or buildings, to commemorate the actions of men. In their deity there is no all-pervading influence: he is supposed to maintain a quiescent state—untroubled by the government of the world, and wholly unconcerned about the affairs of men. The followers of Boodh imagine that, although their god takes no interest in the good or evil actions of his creatures (which are rewarded and punished in this world—prosperity being the universal consequence of virtue, and misfortune the constant attendant upon vice), that sanctity of a very superior order, extraordinary acts of self-denial, and the good wrought by the reformation of their brethren, secure to the devotee rigidly performing such duties, the power of working miracles, and, after death, a certain degree of those God-like attributes which may be employed to influence the destinies of mankind. The religious worship of the Boodhists is duly paid to these saints; and the time-defying towers, which afford conclusive proof of the wide dissemination of their doctrines, and are found in opposite quarters of the globe, are said to contain either the bodies, or some relic—such as a tooth, or portion of the hair—of these holy persons.

The religion of the Boodhists is perfectly unimpassioned and soulless: their notions of eternal bliss are confined to the absence of all care and pain; and their supreme being is represented as slumbering over a busy world, in which he takes no interest. The silver and marble images of this quiescent deity, occasionally met with, have familiarised Europeans with the objects that the disciples of Boodhism render homage to. The figure is that of a human being in a state of meditation, or rather, perfect abstraction. The posture is always that of repose—the hands folded over the knees, and the features imperturbably composed. The semblance is invariably that of the human species; and there are not any of the fantastic and absurd devices of the Hindoos resorted to, to convey ideas of superior bodily and intellectual powers. Although belonging to a different creed, the ground on which a similar temple at Sarnat stands, is esteemed by the Brahmans as more highly blessed than any in the neighbourhood of the holy city of Benares.

CAWNPOOR.

THIS blood-stained town of the Upper Provinces of Bengal, whose name is associated with infamies by which the indignation of the whole civilised world has been aroused, is situated on the western bank of the Ganges, about 52 miles south of Lucknow, and 123 north-west of Allahabad. Like many other Oriental towns, Cawnpoor, previous to the terrible events of June and July, 1857, had a picturesque, if not an imposing appearance from the river, and might boast of edifices that had some claim to architectural beauty; but in the punishment brought upon it and its inhabitants through an act of unparalleled treachery, and the cold-blooded slaughter and nameless horrors by which that treachery was consummated, many of the most attractive features of the place have been sadly and irreparably defaced. It still, however, owing to its great length along the bank of the Ganges, occasionally presents to view some interesting specimens of Hindoo scenery, interspersed with isolated temples and mosques, embedded in magnificent foliage. Two of such temples, crowned with the mitre-shaped dome common to the sacred architecture of Hindoostan before the Mohammedans had possessed themselves of the country, are represented in the accompanying engraving—the white building on the left of which is a house belonging to a wealthy native; and in the far distance, on the right, are the remains of two bungalows, formerly occupied by European residents.

The view of the town on the land side is very limited, being almost entirely obstructed by a low ridge crowned with wood, which skirts the sandy plain that separates the town

from the cantonments. The ancient, or *native*, and the modern, or *European* towns, closely adjoin each other, and, together, extend for about six miles along the river bank, which, for the greater portion of the distance, was formerly studded with the substantial and almost palatial residences of the wealthy natives, intermingled with temple, and mosque, and ghant, and the bungalows of Europeans in the civil and military service of the Company. The portion of the town stretching back inland, consisted of an heterogeneous mass of buildings, chiefly constructed of unbaked mud, and possessing no particular features of interest. Amidst this mass, however, were some residences of Europeans and wealthy inhabitants, composed of brick or other durable material, and generally surrounded by pleasant gardens, by which they were detached from the bulk of the town. The principal edifices of the European town of Cawnpoor, previous to the revolt of 1857, were a church, a free school, military hospital, theatre, assembly-rooms, custom-house, and gaol. Of these buildings, the one in which the free school was located seems to have been the first erected, the establishment having been placed on a permanent footing, under the auspices of Lord Amherst, in 1823. Christ-church, in the immediate vicinity of the former, was but of recent erection, the religious services of the protestants of Cawnpoor having been for many years performed alternately in the riding-house of the royal dragoons, and in a bungalow hired for the purpose at the other end of the cantonments; through the parsimony of the government, and the apathy, or avarice, of the protestant community, which withheld the funds necessary for the erection of a church—to the great scandal of professing Christians, in the estimation of the native residents. The assembly-rooms and theatre were two very fine buildings, particularly the latter, which was entirely surrounded by a corridor, supported by pillars of the Ionic order. Of the two last-mentioned edifices, the first—which had been converted into shambles, in which English women and children were ruthlessly massacred by order of the ferocious and cowardly traitor, Nana Sahib, on the night of the 16th of July—has been razed to the ground, having a stone placed on its site, which records the execrable and unexampled act of butchery there perpetrated. From the centre of the town, an avenue of magnificent trees extends to the race-course, on the western side of the grand trunk road to Allahabad; and this route constituted the usual evening drive of fashionable society at Cawnpoor.

The cantonments, which are irregular in form, extend over a space of ground six miles in length, by two in breadth, and formerly presented a very agreeable diversity of houses, gardens, and park-like grounds, intermingled with the barracks and magazines, &c., of the military. During the events to which reference has been made in connection with the sepoy revolt, this portion of Cawnpoor suffered greatly: but it will be for ever memorable as the spot, on a portion of which was the intrenchment so gallantly improvised and defended by General Sir Hugh Wheeler and his heroic band, against the assaults of overwhelming numbers, during a period of twenty-two days; for the greater part of which the terrors of famine were added to the calamities of war, and the shrieks of agonised mothers and dying children mingled with the crash of falling walls and the yells of an enemy, human only in outward form, and regardless of all the usages of civilised warfare.

Previous to the revolt of 1857, the cantonment often contained, in addition to its European and military population, some fifty or sixty thousand native inhabitants. The native infantry here stationed, were generally encamped in the cool season, on which occasion there were regular streets and squares of canvas, stretching over a vast space of ground: each regiment was provided with its bazaar; and in the rear, and far beyond the lines of tents, were the bivouacs of the camp-followers of every kind, who usually congregated in immense numbers. All these, with the families of Europeans, and those of the military officers in their bungalows and lodges, contributed to give great animation to the cantonment. The accommodation provided was equal to the reception of seven or eight thousand troops of all arms; but the number actually stationed at Cawnpoor rarely amounted to more than half of that force; and when the revolt broke out, on the 4th of June, 1857, the troops in cantonment, both native and European, did not altogether exceed 3,845 men, of whom 240 only were English.

The Ganges at Cawnpoor forms the boundary line between the territory of the East India Company, on the western bank of the river, and the kingdom of Oude on the

opposite side; and, subsequent to the annexation of that kingdom, the military importance of Cawnpoor, as a frontier station, had considerably diminished: still, from the great extent of the cantonments, and other causes, there was always a great amount of military duty to be performed at Cawnpoor; and it was, consequently, not a favourite station: there were also many temptations to expense common to all large towns, that are not thrown in the way of young officers on joining inferior stations; but those inconveniences were perhaps almost compensated for by the opportunity for association with a better class of residents, the facility that existed for procuring books and other articles from Europe, and the pleasure of constant intercourse with persons proceeding up and down the country; all which advantages afforded an agreeable variation from the usual monotony of a provincial station.

Although Cawnpoor is situated in the Dooab, which is celebrated for its richness of soil and fertility, the country immediately around it is one wide waste of sand. At Nawaubgunge, a short distance from the northern extremity of the cantonments, the houses occupied by the civilians are seen in the midst of sterility; and, at the other extremity, the same characteristics of soil prevail; the encamping-ground being absolutely treeless and leafless, and frequently presenting the appearance of the mirage. The cantonments, which are much broken by ravines, are, on the contrary, thickly planted; and being interspersed by native temples and village-like bazaars, they afford a variety of interesting drives. The houses, though principally bungalows, were built upon a very large scale, and their general appearance was much improved by the addition of circular ends, stuccoed with *chunam*, and of a dazzling whiteness. Many of such bungalows contained splendid suites of apartments, fitted up with much elegance; and all were furnished with fire-places after the European style, the severity of the weather in the cold season rendering a blazing hearth absolutely necessary for comfort. In the European gardens, all the vegetables common to the West are raised without difficulty in the cold season, with the exception of broad or Windsor-beans. Fruit is abundant, and the bazaars were well supplied with butchers' meat, poultry, and game. It is needless to remark, that the outrages committed by the rebellious soldiery and their followers, during the brief interval in which they held the place, and the result of the means taken for their punishment, has frightfully changed the general appearance and condition of Cawnpoor.

AGRA.

THE city of Agra is the capital of the Anglo-Indian province similarly named, and the official seat of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal. It is situated on the south-west bank of the river Jumna, 115 miles S.S.E. from Delhi, and 185 N.W. of Cawnpoor. Its origin is supposed to be traced to a very remote antiquity; and, by the Hindoos, it is asserted to have been the scene of the *avatar*, or incarnation of their god Vishnu, under the name of Parasu Rama. Having, probably through the lapse of ages, dwindled from its original importance, Agra, at the close of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, was little better than an inconsiderable village. At length its natural attractions brought it under the notice of the emperor Akber, who chose it for the site of a royal residence, and gave it the name of Akbarabad. Under this name it flourished as the seat of the Mogul government until 1674, when the emperor Shah Jehan removed the imperial court to Delhi; and from that period, Agra, or Akbarabad, has progressively again declined in importance.

Agra was wrested from the sovereignty of the Moguls by the Mahratta chief Madajee Sindia, in 1784, and continued in the possession of the victors until the year 1803, when, after a short but vigorous siege, the city was taken by the English forces under Lord Lake. It has since remained in the hands of the British government, and is the seat of a civil establishment for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. The

city rises from the river in the form of a vast semicircle, surrounded by a wall of red granite, and a ditch of considerable width. The houses generally are of stone, and lofty, but the streets are scarcely of sufficient width to admit the passage of a carriage through them. A few years since, the city contained about 700 mosques, and an equal number of baths. Among the buildings within the walls, are a fort and some remains of a palace of the Mogul emperors; and on the opposite side of the river are a number of ancient tombs and other buildings, of extraordinary architectural beauty. Independent of the desolation caused by recent events at Agra, in connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857, a great portion of the edifices within and around the city wall, have been, for many years, in a state of dilapidation; in short, the pristine extent and splendour of the city was only to be traced by the number and variety of the ruins, which spread themselves around on every side. Vast tracts, covered with old buildings, the remains of wells, and fragments of walls, which originally flourished in the midst of verdure and under the shade of forest trees, now only render the wide waste of sand, which has swallowed up all vegetation, still more desolate. The country between the fort and the Taj Mahal (a superb mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan) is a perfect desert; and visitors, after winding their way through an arid plain, only diversified by sand-heaps and crumbling masses of stone, come, as if by enchantment, upon the luxuriant gardens which still adorn the mausoleum, where the mighty emperor, and the beautiful partner of his throne and empire, sleep together in undisturbed repose.

The marble cupola on the left of the engraving, crowns a beautiful musjid, or mosque, attached to the Taj. Beyond, flanked by its slender minarets, the Taj itself appears; and, in the distance, the eye rests upon the cupolas and turrets of the magnificent gateway that forms the principal entrance to this terrestrial paradise. Constant irrigation is necessary in India to preserve the beauty of gardens, which soon disappears if not continually refreshed by the revivifying stream. The pleasure-grounds belonging to the Taj Mahal are watered daily, and they are clothed in perpetual verdure; while the surrounding country is a parched wilderness.

The beautiful arched gateway and square tower on the right of the plate, opens into an enclosure of considerable extent, between the plain and the gardens of the Taj. Many buildings of the same design skirt the gardens, and some were fitted up for the residences of European families during the rains. The superior elegance of the native architecture often rendered it a subject for regret, that so few of the deserted buildings in the vicinity of Agra had been adapted to the use of the European inhabitants; not more than three or four of the mosques and tombs having been fitted up for their comfortable occupation, while the far greater number are lodged in excessively ugly bungalows, built with the old bricks which cover miles of the suburbs of Agra, and which can be had for the trouble of collecting them.

The church belonging to the cantonments was a handsome structure, built under the superintendence of an officer of the Company's engineers. In the course of the events of July, 1857, this edifice, together with the English and Oriental college, the government house, the Metcalfe testimonial, and, indeed, nearly every building of European construction, were destroyed by the mutinous bands that followed the retiring force under Brigadier Polwhele, after the engagement at Futtehpoor Sikri on the 5th of July.

THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

THE great lion of Agra is the world-renowned Taj Mahal, or imperial mausoleum, erected by the emperor Shah Jehan, over the remains of his favourite wife, the empress Nour Jehan, or "Light of the World;" which is situated about three miles from the cantonments, and one mile from the fort of Agra. This "crown of edifices," as its name implies, is built of white marble, on a terrace of the same material, intermingled with a fine yellow

stone. It contains a central hall, surmounted by a capacious dome, beneath which are the tombs of the founder and of his empress, and around the central space are a number of small apartments and corridors. The mausoleum, which has been esteemed the finest specimen of Indian architecture now extant, is reported to have cost £750,000; and with its clusters of light minarets, its noble gateway, mosque, and other buildings, forms a most exquisite group. The costly mosaics of twelve different sorts of stones, with which the mausoleum was paved, have gradually disappeared; but the general beauty of the structure had remained, to a great extent, unimpaired up to the period of the revolt of 1857. The height of the Taj Mahal, from the lower terrace to the golden crescent that surmounted the principal dome, was upwards of 250 feet, and the erection of the building occupied twenty years.

The late Bishop Heber, in speaking of this superb tomb, says—"After hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and has, at its angles, four tall minarets of the same material. In the centre hall, enclosed within a carved screen of exquisite design and workmanship, is the tomb of the favourite Nour Jehan; and upon a marble *dais* slightly raised, by the side of her remains, is that of the emperor himself. The windows are of white marble, elaborately traced, and perforated for light and air—of the same design as the screen. The walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful mosaics of cornelian, lapis-lazuli, pearl, and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room, the general effect is solemn and impressive, irrespective of the associations naturally attached to it in the mind of the spectator."

The entrance-gate to this region of enchantment is itself a palace, both as regards its magnitude and its decoration, being built of a deep red stone inlaid with white marble, and surmounted with domes and open cupolas. The centre forms a large circular hall, having a domed roof and gallery running round, and the interior walls are also embellished with splendid mosaics in rich patterns of flowers, so delicately formed that they look like embroidery on white satin—thirty-five different specimens of cornelians being employed in the single leaf of a carnation; while agates, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and other precious materials, are spread over the place in unparalleled profusion.

THE JUMMA MUSJID, AGRA.

THIS magnificent building fronts the Delhi gate of the fort, which is visible on the right of the engraving; the architecture is extremely grand and solid, flanked by octangular towers, and strengthened by massive buttresses. A lofty gateway, surmounted by minarets, leads to the interior, which is rich but chaste; and marked by simplicity of style. The Mohammedan religion rejects all extraneous decoration in the adornment of places of worship, and the lofty cupola'd hall is free from that florid ornamentation which the tasteful Mogul delights to lavish upon edifices designed for the abodes of the living, or the reception of the dead.

The Jumma Musjid is still in good preservation, notwithstanding its exposure to damage, from proximity to the fort, during the investment of that place in July and August, 1857.

The fort of Agra forms one of the most interesting specimens of military architecture that is to be found in India; and was evidently a place of vast strength before the art of war became entirely changed by the invention of gunpowder: its high battlemented walls of red granite, lofty towers, postern gates, and inclined planes, with the golden symbol of Mogul supremacy gleaming above its pinnacles and cupolas, altogether present an imposing assemblage of objects. Until the events of 1857, no attempt had ever been made to maintain the fort of Agra against a hostile force, and it consequently had remained

uninjured by violence. The walls embraced an area of very considerable extent, within which is an immense hall, formerly the place in which the Mogul emperors held their durbars, but now converted into an arsenal. The Mootee Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, and a palace of Akber, are also comprehended within the fortifications. The palace itself, which is built entirely of white marble, is a splendid fabric, in excellent repair, with the exception of some of the chief apartments, in which the ceilings were of polished silver, and have long since disappeared. The principal hall is still a superb apartment, supported on pillars and arches in a florid style of architecture; and among the suites of smaller chambers, are many highly decorated, the walls being inlaid with a mosaic work of flowers, executed in an almost endless variety of cornelians, agates, bloodstone, lapis-lazuli, and jasper. These beautiful apartments overlook the Jumna as it winds along banks planted with luxuriant gardens, and decked at every jutting point with light and elegant pavilions; numerous quadrangles and courtyards intersect the building, each having its postern, its marble basins, or its fountains; multitudes of pigeons of various colours—blue, pink, brown, and green—nestle amid the pinnacles, adding the gleaming beauty of their plumage to the gorgeous flowers, and the sparkling waters that flow through channels scooped out of the pavement to receive them.

The palace of the great Akber, though it may justly vie with the far-famed Albambra, and is even superior to that celebrated building in the delicacy and finish of its ornaments, is yet eclipsed by the surpassing beauty of the Pearl Mosque, an edifice of which it is almost impossible to convey any adequate description, so exquisitely lovely is it in every part. The dazzling resplendence of the material of which it is composed can only be compared to a flood of moonlight; but the admiration and astonishment which it calls forth, is speedily absorbed in the delight excited by the chaste grandeur of the architecture: an immense quadrangle, cloistered on three sides with a rich arcade, surmounted at intervals with octagonal pavilions, leads to a hall supported by several rows of arches, most beautifully springing out of each other, and crowned with a light dome. A marble basin is hollowed in the centre of the court, in the midst of which a fountain perpetually adds its soothing whispers to the calm and silvery radiance of this region of enchantment.

JAHARA BANG—AGRA.

PREVIOUS to the devastating outrages upon property as well as persons, that characterised the sepoy rebellion of 1857, the eastern bank of the river Jumna, at Agra, was adorned by a succession of beautiful gardens of great luxuriance and vast extent, where the orange, the citron, and the vine vied with the richest and fairest fruit, and exquisite flowers charmed the senses with their beauty and perfume; while numberless fountains of crystal waters, among pavilions of marble, invited to repose those who delighted to indulge in the pomp and indolence of Oriental luxury. The Jahara Bang, or garden, was the name given to one of those delightful retreats; and in wandering through its stately avenues, the readers of the Arabian tales might in imagination realise the picture of the imperial pleasure-grounds on the banks of the Tigris, the fabled scene of the adventures of the caliph Haroun Alraschid, with the fair princess Nouredin Ali, and her Persian rivals.

Nothing, however, can be imagined more beautiful in reality than the view from the pavilion represented in the plate; which was erected on the extreme point of a small peninsula overhanging the rocky bed of the river. On the opposite bank, one of the most celebrated cities of Hindoostan, beautiful even in its ruins, spreads its architectural splendours before the admiring gaze; the marble palace of Shah Jehan glitters on the very edge of the stream; while its terraces, turrets, and pinnacles, are reflected in the bright mirror that stretches itself below: in the background, the bastioned walls and massive gateways of the city, appear crowned with the shining cupolas of the Pearl Mosque, and

partially concealed by the shading foliage of the neem, the peepul, and the tamarind tree; the long and beautiful perspective of tower, palace, ghaut, and embowering grove, is closed by the tall minarets and lofty dome of the Taj Mahal.

Nothing short of a stereoscopic view could possibly convey an adequate idea of the multiplicity of beautiful objects that riveted the senses in this extensive and magnificent prospect, or the imposing effect which it produced when seen at the moment in which the rising sun bathed the whole scene in one bright flood of golden light. The sinuosities of the river afforded a perpetual succession of views; but from the minarets of Etemad-ud Dowlah's tomb (the father of Nour Mahal), in the immediate vicinity, the eye could take in a wide and richly varied prospect, many miles in extent, at a single glance. This building, which stands in the midst of a wilderness, near the Jahara Bang, has been esteemed the most chaste and beautiful specimen of architecture that the Moguls have left for the adornment of the land subjected to their rule. It was erected by Nour Mahal, to protect the remains of her father.

Compared with many of the sepulchral monuments of India, the tomb of Etemad-ud Dowlah is small, consisting only of one central hall, with octagonal apartments at the angles, surmounted by a dome and four open minarets. The whole edifice was covered with a lattice of marble wrought with flowers and foliage, intermingled with tracery, and forming a rich veil of most exquisite workmanship. This building has not for some years attracted the attention of the government; and as there are no funds available for keeping it in repair, the ravages of time will doubtless, in a few more years, effect its slow but certain destruction.

THE TOMB OF AKBER—SECUNDRA.

THE tomb of the emperor Akber at Secundra, about seven miles distant from Agra, is conjectured to have formerly been enclosed within the gates of that city. For many years past, however, visitors to this extraordinary pile have had to trace their way to it through a picturesque country strewn with ruins, and along the narrow streets of a second-rate but bustling commercial town, situated midway between the city and the tomb, to the village of Secundra, a place which still retains some vestiges of former greatness, but now sheltering only a few of the poorest peasants, who are content to dwell beneath the crumbling roofs of decaying grandeur.

The magnificent pile which heaps terrace upon terrace over the ashes of the mighty Akber, if not the most chaste and beautiful in its design, is perhaps the most spacious of the monuments erected to perpetuate the glories of the Mohammedan rulers of Hindoostan. It stands in the centre of a park-like plantation of some forty acres in extent, the whole area being surrounded by a battlemented wall, strengthened by an octagonal tower at each corner, built in a bold style, and crowned with an open cupola at the top. Four gateways open into this enclosure, one of which is considered the most magnificent edifice of the kind to be found even in India.

The mausoleum itself is exceedingly singular in its design, and differs widely from the usual features of Mogul architecture. It forms a perfect square, the basement storey containing nothing worthy of note excepting its outer colonnade, the four passages leading from the four gateways, and the dim vault in which the remains of Akber, enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, repose. A lamp, burning on the tomb, is daily fed by the pious care of a few poor brethren of the Mohammedan priesthood, who also strew fresh-gathered flowers over the unconscious dead—a custom prevalent in every part of Hindoostan. Above this storey there is a second, a third, and a fourth, each forming a distinct range, rising directly over the tomb, and each containing a marble sarcophagus: the rooms in each range are small, and can only be entered from the marble verandahs of the terraces. Flights of stairs lead from the entrances below to the first platform, the building being somewhat in the form of a pyramid with the apex cut off. This storey consists of four

noble terraces, or rather one quadrangle, with the central chamber before-mentioned; its suites of small apartments, and cloistered arcade in the midst, presenting the same *façade* on every side. The whole is surrounded by a noble balustrade; and at each angle there is a large pavilion-shaped turret with an open cupola. Flights of stairs lead to the second terraced quadrangle, which is precisely the same as the lower one, except that it is smaller; each tier diminishing in size until the summit of the building is reached, and the visitor treads upon a vast platform, surrounded by a screen of white marble perforated in every compartment in beautiful designs of arabesques, and having turreted marble cupolas at the angles. In the centre of this platform stands a fifth sarcophagus, most delicately and beautifully carved, the name of the monarch who sleeps below being inscribed upon it in gems. Though exposed to every change of atmosphere, its beauty still remains unimpaired by the sunny climate of the East; and notwithstanding the lapse of years since the potent monarch whose ashes it covers was gathered to his fathers, it is still as pure, as white, and as brilliantly polished, as when it came from the skilful hand of the artificer by whom its beauty was thus brought to perfection. The three storeys that intervene between this platform and the basement floor are constructed of red granite, inlaid with white marble. The cupolas are covered with coloured tiles, composed of a coarse description of enamel; and, altogether, there is more of barbaric pomp displayed in this mausoleum than is usually found in the edifices raised by Mohammedans to perpetuate the memory of their rulers.

While the upper part of the building may be open to objection in an architectural sense, nothing can be finer than the gateways, and the wide marble colonnades, which sweep along the four sides of the mausoleum. These spacious cloisters would afford shelter and accommodation for a large army; and a regiment of English dragoons which was quartered in them during the siege of Agra, by Lord Lake, occupied but a very small portion of the space afforded. They lead to marble chambers screened off from each other, in which several members of the imperial family are enshrined, and are flanked with solid towers, their cupola'd summits forming pavilions to the terrace above. The interior of the arch at the principal entrance (shown on the right of the plate) is covered with verses that commemorate the virtues and triumphs of the founder, and expatiate upon the instability of human grandeur.

The renowned monarch for whose remains this stupendous monument was erected, was the son of the emperor Humayun. He was proclaimed emperor of Hindoostan on the death of his father in 1555, and died in October, 1605, after a glorious reign of forty-nine years, nearly the whole of which he was a cotemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England. The virtues of Akber's private character, his long and prosperous reign, and the stability which his invariable success gave to an empire which had nearly fallen under the dominion of the Afghans a second time, have inspired the people of Hindoostan with the highest regard for his memory; and even, to the present time, pilgrims from far and foreign lands come to offer homage at his lonely sepulchre.

One of the recesses around the shrine of Akber contains the ashes of a Hindoo princess, Jod Bae, whom her father, the rajah Moota of Joudpoor, gave to Akber in marriage, receiving in return from the conqueror four provinces, yielding £200,000 of annual revenue—certainly a royal price for a wife!

FUTTEHPOOR SIKRI.

THE town of Futtehpoor Sikri is situated about nineteen miles W.S.W. of Agra, and, for many years, was a favourite retreat of the emperor Akber and his descendants. Its more recent claim to historical celebrity will, however, henceforth date from its association with the rebellious movements of some native regiments of the Bengal army; a portion of which, consisting of about 9,000 men, with a train of artillery, on their way from

Neemuch towards Agra, was encountered near the place on the 5th of July, 1857, by a European force numbering, with volunteers, about 950 men, under Brigadier Polwhele. The enemy was attacked with great spirit and determination by this handful of men, and, for a time, victory appeared to crown their valour; but the ammunition of the little band having failed, the latter was compelled to fall back on Agra, and take shelter in the fort. The rebels, emboldened by the retrograde movement, followed their assailants as far as the cantonments, which, being left without protection, they entered, and committed the most brutal excesses. Their first act was to set free the prisoners in the gaol; and the next, to pillage and destroy by fire whatever property appeared to belong to the Europeans. The amount of such property carried off, or rendered valueless, was afterwards estimated at more than ten lacs of rupees; and while the havoc proceeded, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected to seek protection in the fort, were savagely massacred. Having at length accomplished their nefarious purpose, the rebels withdrew from the ruined cantonments, to augment the native army at Delhi.

Though now a place of mere huts and ruins, scantily inhabited by a few poor villagers, the architectural remains of other days at Futtelipoor Sikri, are yet of the most splendid description, and equal, if they do not surpass, those of any other portion of the vast empire of the Moguls.

The gateway represented in the plate, leads to the mosque attached to the palace of Akber, and is considered the most beautiful specimen of the kind to be found in the world. It opens into a quadrangle of magnificent proportions, surrounded on three sides with a fine piazza, the mosque itself forming the fourth side. The latter is a handsome building, in a plain, solid style of architecture, but far inferior in design to the magnificent portal by which it is approached. The enclosure is about 500 feet square, and its chaste grandeur produces an effect naturally associated with ideas of monastic seclusion and meditative study.

Upon entering this spacious area, the visitor cannot fail to be struck by the imposing *coup d'œil* presented to him. Facing the entrance are two mausoleums, wrought with all the care and delicate workmanship that distinguish the efforts of Mogul art. In the one on the right, several members of the imperial family lie entombed; the other, which is represented as the shrine of Sheik Soliman, is a perfect gem in design and execution, elaborately worked in marble of the finest whiteness and most delicate sculpture. This holy personage, now esteemed and honoured as a saint by the Mohammedans, was the friend and councillor of Akber; and dying in the odour of sanctity, his shrine is regarded by Mohammedans with peculiar veneration.

The mosque is surmounted by three domes of white marble; and the turret-crowned embattlemented quadrangle, with its arched cloisters, splendid gateway, and isolated tombs, leave nothing to desire. To the right of the mosque the remains of Akber's ruined palace rise amidst courts and terraces, in various stages of decay; but the portions which remain entire are particularly interesting: among these the stables of the emperor are worthy of notice; they consist of a spacious street, with a piazza on either side, fifteen feet in width—supported upon handsome pillars, and roofed in by enormous slabs of stone extending from the parapet to the wall. The residence of Akber's favourite minister, though upon a small scale, affords a very pleasing specimen of Oriental luxury, realising the ideas of pavilions and miniature palaces, with which we become familiar in the Arabian tales.

In the court of the zenana another of those exquisite pieces of workmanship is yet extant, in the bedchamber of one of Akber's wives, the daughter of the sultan of Constantinople. The remains of this *bijou* are exceedingly beautiful: three windows of perforated marble, in the exquisite tracery that occurs so profusely in all Mogul buildings, are still entire as on the day they received the last touch of the sculptor's chisel. The wall was disfigured by Aurungzebe, the third son of Shah Jehan; who, in order to divert the minds of the people from dwelling upon his usurpation of his father's throne, and his relentless persecution of his brothers, affected much religious zeal, and displayed it chiefly by strict observance of the outward forms and precepts of the Koran. The interior of the pavilion was beautifully carved with trees, clusters of grapes, and vine-leaves; among which were birds and animals executed with wonderful skill: but as the strict regulations of Islamism do not permit of such representations, the emperor ordered them to be demolished, or

defaced. Another chamber in this extensive area was paved with lozenges of black and white marble, forming an enormous chess-board, on which the emperor and his nobles played, human beings personating the various pieces employed in the game so deeply studied by Asiatics of all ages.

The audience chamber of Akber, though more curious than beautiful, forms an object of great attraction to the visitors of Futtehpoor. It is a pavilion of stone, about twenty feet square, surrounded by a gallery of the same material: the musnud, or throne, in form somewhat resembling a pulpit, rises in the centre; and from each of the four sides of the gallery, a narrow bridge, without rails, leads to the place, where the emperor, seated in solitary state, received his courtiers, who were not permitted to advance beyond the galleries.

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, though now but thinly inhabited, is surrounded by a mouldering turreted wall, five miles in circumference. From the gateway, on the road to Agra, a spacious street presents itself, bearing ample voucher that it was once bounded by palatial residences of the nobles of Hindoostan; now falling rapidly into masses of shapeless ruins. The gate of the mosque (as shown in the plate) forms, by its great elevation, a sort of beacon to the distant traveller; and from its topmost storey a splendid view rewards those who are sufficiently courageous to make the ascent. From this height the eye may wander over a vast extent of country—fields that, till of late, were highly cultivated, producing cotton, mustard, rice, and other kinds of grain; wooded with mango and tamarind groves, watered by broad jheels, and interspersed with a profusion of picturesque buildings. Serais, mosques, crumbling palaces, old tombs, and ruined walls, spread themselves, on the north-west, to the walls of Bhurtpoor—the fortress so famous in the military annals of Hindoostan; while, on the opposite side, the city of Agra, with the snowy dome of the Taj Mahal, gives an enchanting finish to the picture.

THE FORT AT MUTTRA.

THE city of Muttra, or Mathura, is situated on the Jumna, about thirty miles N.W. from Agra. It has ever been one of the strongholds of Hindoo superstition; and, previous to the early Mohammedan conquests, was considered of great sanctity and importance, being revered as the birthplace of Krishna, the Hindoo Apollo. Its splendid temples and shrines, in which the idols were of pure gold, are supposed to have tempted the invader, Mahmood of Ghuznee, to ravage the country in which it stood. That monarch seized the city, and carried off its treasures of every kind; and the immense value of the spoil with which he loaded his camels, inducing others to follow his rapacious example, the temples were quickly plundered of all that he had overlooked. Mahmood, in fulfilment of the duty enjoined to all true believers, overthrew the principal temple at Muttra, which was afterwards rebuilt at the cost of thirty-six lacs of rupees. Aurungzebe, as great a bigot as his predecessor, destroyed the second temple, and constructed, on its site, a mosque with the materials of the desecrated fane; but the Moslem conquerors, though planting the victorious Crescent upon the smoking ruins of Hindoo shrines, could not succeed in rooting out, or even diminishing, the spirit of idolatry with which the inhabitants of the city were imbued.

The Hindoo temples at Muttra are very numerous, though not equal in point of size, and grandeur of design, to many places of Brahminical worship in other parts of India: still they are finished with much elegance; and the architectural splendours of the ghauts, with their accompanying pagodas, exceed in beauty many of the numerous superb landing-places which spread themselves on both sides of the Jumna, and are found adorning its wildest solitudes. The city is well built, after the Indian fashion; many of the houses being constructed with much solidity, the walls massive and lofty, and embellished with richly carved ornaments in wood and stone. The lofty, dark, and frowning walls of the

fort at Muttra, when seen against the red flush of an Eastern sunset, have a very imposing appearance from the river. In coming down with the current, it is passed shortly after it is first seen; but in toiling up against the stream, full leisure is obtained to gaze upon the massive bastions which have, in former days, successfully opposed the hostile projects of surrounding chieftains. This castellated edifice stands upon the western bank of the river, and was, in former times, a place of great strength; its appearance being still formidable, as may be conceived from the plate annexed. The walls enclose, and cover, a large extent of ground, containing many buildings of various degrees of interest; but the once beautiful and still interesting relic of feudal power at Muttra, has long been abandoned to the despoiling influence of time, without an effort to arrest its progress.

The principal distinction that has, from a remote period, belonged to Muttra, consists in the troops of monkeys with which the whole of its avenues swarm: those creatures are to be seen everywhere; and there is no possibility of keeping them out of any place they may choose to invade: they climb upon the tops of the houses, descend to the interior courts and gardens, perch upon the walls and doorposts, and assail the passengers below with missiles. Few persons can have rambled through the streets of Muttra without experiencing this kind of annoyance; but to resent it by killing or injuring one of the tormenting animals, would involve very serious consequences. Not many years since, two young officers, who fired at a monkey in the neighbourhood, were drowned in the Jumna, in the vain attempt to escape from the violence of an exasperated multitude that pursued them to their destruction. Monkeys are revered by the Hindoos, in consequence of one of their sacred books recording that Humayun had led an army of these animals to the assistance of their god Rama, when defeated in a conflict with the great Ravanu, one of the evil powers of the Hindoo pantheon.

ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE, DELHI.

THE modern city of Delhi, for a short time the head-quarters of a sanguinary rebellion, that was intended to wrest the sceptre of Hindoostan from the royal hand of Britain, was founded in 1631, by the emperor Shah Jehan, upon part of the site of a former city, which is said to have covered a space of twenty square miles, over great part of which its ruins are still scattered. The modern city stands on the west bank of the Jumna, and is about seven miles in circumference, enclosed on three sides by a fortified wall and towers; and on the fourth, partly by the palace of the late titular king, and partly by the river. It was entered by seven gates of beautiful architecture, of which the one named from the city is nearest the palace—the Lahore gate being immediately opposite to the principal entrance of that structure, and the Cashmere gate being nearest to the English cantonments. The palace, of which one of the entrances is seen in the accompanying engraving, was also built by Shah Jehan, who surrounded it with a moat and embattled wall, which, towards the city, was sixty feet high, with several small towers, and two noble gateways. Not far from the palace is a mosque of red stone, whose domes appear in the central distance of the picture; and within which, on the 17th of February, 1739, the conqueror, Nadir Shah, sat from sunrise to mid-day, to witness the massacre of the inhabitants, which did not cease until near 100,000 persons had fallen by the swords of his infuriated soldiery. The palace itself, as seen from a distance, exhibited a cluster of pinnacles and towers, many of which have been shaken to the ground, through the terrible occurrences that have followed the insane attempt to re-establish the empire of the Moguls upon the ruin of that of England, in Hindoostan. Through the gate shown in the engraving, the infatuated descendant of a worn-out dynasty, on the 12th of May, 1857, after suffering himself to be proclaimed king of Hindoostan, issued, surrounded by Oriental pomp; and, amidst the salutes of artillery and the clangour of martial instruments, proceeded through the city, to receive the homage of his subjects, and to animate them in their treacherous and rebellious war against the English. Through this gate,

also, on the 21st of the following September, the phantom king, intercepted in his useless flight from the retribution he had provoked, was brought back to the palace he had occupied as ruler of India, a wretched prisoner, divested of rank and title, to await the result of a trial that, in all probability, would consign him, in the extreme winter of his existence, to the doom of a traitor and a felon. It is not in the province of this descriptive work to trace the progress, or to record the triumphs, of the struggle unnaturally forced upon this country by the treachery and vindictiveness of the people of India; and as the subject is fully treated in works devoted to the purpose, to those pages we must refer for details that are now of national importance and of world-wide interest.

THE COOTUB MINAR—DELHI.

THE village of Cootub—in which the remarkable column represented in the accompanying engraving, rises in towering majesty over the scattered relics of the ancient capital of the Mogul empire—is situated about ten miles south-west of modern Delhi, amidst a scene of desolation that has been spreading around it for nearly two centuries. The origin of the Minar is ascribed to the early part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of the Sultan Shems-ud-din Altemsh (between the years 1210 and 1231), being founded by the viceroy of that monarch, Cootub, from whom its name is derived. The base of the column is circular, and forms a polygon of twenty-seven sides, the exterior of the shaft being fluted to the third storey, in twenty-seven circular and angular divisions, the flutings varying in each compartment. Four balconies encircle the pillar, the first being at the height of ninety feet from the ground, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet. The summit was originally crowned with a majestic cupola of red granite, which has long fallen from its elevated position, and lies scattered in fragments around the base of the pillar. The upper storey of the edifice, considerably above the fourth balcony, bore inscriptions, four in number, declaratory of its object, and designating its founder; but the letters have, to a great extent, become so dilapidated, and the difficulty of near approach so much increased by the decay of the material, that it has long been only possible to decipher a portion of them by the aid of a powerful telescope. In the *Asiatic Researches*,* the following fragment of the fourth inscription is given as the only intelligible portion of the record now remaining:—

“The erection of this building was commenced in the glorious time of the great sultan, the mighty king of kings, the master of mankind, the lord of the monarchs of Turkestan, Arabia, and Persia; the sun of the world and religion, of the faith and the faithful; the lord of safety and protection; the heir of the kingdoms of Suliman. Abu Muzeffa Altemsh Nasir Amin ul Momenin.”

The entire height of the Minar is 242 feet as it now stands, without the cupola; the stone of which it is composed is principally red granite, but there is an admixture of black and white marble—the upper divisions being entirely formed of the latter material. An irregular spiral staircase, in which there are many openings for the admission of light and air, leads to the top: this ascent was difficult and perilous until repaired by order of the government, which desired to rescue so valuable a relic of the past from impending ruin.

Some remains of an unfinished mosque are in the close vicinity of the Minar. To the eastward a court extends, enclosed by a high wall, and bordered on two sides by arcades, formed of pillars carved in the richest style of Hindoo art. The domes in this quarter are particularly elegant, but appear to have been formed before the true principles of the arch had become known in India. Arcades of the same description, but with little ornament, extend also to the south and east of the Minar. Immediately at the base of the column are the remains of one of the superb portals

* Vol. xiv., p. 481.

common to the buildings of the Moslems. This splendid entrance, and the accompanying line of arches, is supposed to be the eastern front of a mosque, commenced also by the viceroy Cootub, but never completed. The archway of this gate is sixty feet in height, and the ornaments with which it is embellished are matchless, being cut with the delicacy of a seal engraving; the edges remaining, to this day, perfectly sharp, and uninjured by the elemental conflicts they have been exposed to during the lapse of centuries. The arcade (which stretches to the right of the picture) beneath the gateway is of granite, and is covered with inscriptions highly and minutely finished, according to the usual style of the Patans or Moguls, who were said to build like giants, and to embellish like jewellers.

From the summit of the Cootub Minar the view is sublime: the eye wanders for miles over a wide waste of ruins, amidst which the mausoleums of Humayun and Sufter Jung alone remain in a state of tolerable preservation. The silvery Jumna rolls its current through the midst of the desolation, making large curves as it glides snake-like along. In the background, the large feudal towers of Selimgurh rear their dark turreted heights in gloomy magnificence; and still farther in the distance are seen the white and glittering mosques of modern Delhi, mingled with the ruins produced by the ravages of modern revolt, and the just but terrible punishment that has followed it.

THE TOMB OF HUMAYUN—DELHI.

THE mausoleum of Humayun (Auspicious), son of Baber, and sixth in descent from the imperial Timoor, still remains one of the most perfect edifices that are to be found amongst the ruins of old Delhi. This prince, equally celebrated for his misfortunes as for his virtues, exercised a troubled sway over a portion of Hindoostan proper, from the death of his father, in 1530, to the period of his own existence, in 1555; during which time he was more than once exposed to the perils of rebellion and the privations of exile, the whole of which he triumphantly surmounted, and died in the undisturbed possession of a mighty and united empire. The tomb of this prince, erected by his son Akber, has always been an object of veneration to the people of India; which may, in some degree, account for its preservation in the midst of a sea of ruins. But great as may have been its attraction in the eyes of the native population, as a memorial of the faded glories of the Mogul rulers of their country, the circumstances that have connected the mausoleum with the retributive justice which followed in the track of the Mohammedan revolt of 1857, will henceforth impart to it, in the eyes of Europeans, a far greater and more solemn interest. From the mausoleum of Humayun, on the 22nd of September, 1857, two of the rebel sons, and a grandson, of the then captive titular king of Delhi, were dragged, while surrounded by a host of armed adherents, to expiate their crimes against the state and humanity, by a sudden and violent death, as exemplary as it was merited.

The tomb of Humayun is situated upon a plain, about five miles distant from the Agra gate of the modern capital. It is a noble pile of granite inlaid with white marble, less florid, and altogether of a simpler style of architecture than that of his son Akber, at Secundra. The basement of the edifice is a terrace 200 feet square, raised upon cloisters, and having a wide flight of steps on each side; the central building is also square, containing one large circular hall, with smaller apartments at the angles; the whole being crowned with a dome of white marble, and enriched with the pediments of four beautiful gateways. According to the Asiatic custom, the body of the emperor is interred in a shrine upon the basement floor; the sarcophagus is of white marble, raised upon a slight elevation from the pavement, in the centre of the hall, and immediately under the dome: the interior of the chamber still preserves rich decorations of gilding and enamel; but the tassels of gold, that formerly hung suspended from the roof, have

been removed. Several members of Humayun's family lie entombed within the chambers at the angles, having sarcophagi, beautifully carved in white marble, on the upper floor: the whole design is simple, chaste, and of noble proportions.

The mausoleum originally stood in the centre of a large garden surrounded by a battlemented wall—cloistered on the inside, flanked by towers, and entered by four gateways; but this garden, with its stately groves, its terraces and fountains, has long been neglected, and is now a wilderness. By the aid of the only spring of water that is not dried up, some poor families, who live in the outbuildings of the tomb, cultivate a little grain for their subsistence; but sand has encroached upon the pastures; and from the terrace of the mausoleum, the view is over desolated plains covered with ruins, and bounded by a range of hills equally bleak and barren. The building itself appears on the left of the plate, with all that is entire of its surrounding walls; the foreground of the picture affords a faithful portraiture of the rugged soil, cumbered with fragments of temples, towers, and palaces that lie scattered around. In the distance, to the right, gateways and dome-crowned tombs appear, intermingled with a scanty foliage of shrubs—one solitary palm rearing its head over the prostrate ruins.

The death of Humayun, in 1555, is thus related by Ferishta, the Persian historian:—"The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library, to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental balustrade a foot high, a *muezzin* (or crier) announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people, being assembled, had just offered the monarch the usual *komesb* (or salutation.) Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot; but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died in the forty-ninth year of his age." The history of this prince is full of romantic and chivalrous incident. He was succeeded on the throne of Hindoostan by the great Akber, by whom India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small independent kingdoms around his paternal territories.

RUINS ON THE JUMNA, ABOVE DELHI.

THE mosque represented in the accompanying engraving, stands on the west bank of the Jumna, a short distance from the walls, at the upper part of the modern city of Delhi. The cupolas and the gateway, which are still entire, possess strong claims to admiration; and though upon a smaller scale than many of the magnificent remains in the neighbourhood, afford a very just idea of the elegance pertaining to nearly all the places of Mohammedan worship in India. The grove which shades this venerable and time-worn ruin, whose origin is lost amidst the decay of the capital it once adorned, was, in all probability, planted by the founder; since a Moslem, when building a temple or a monument, always provided at the same time for the comfort of travellers in its vicinity. The whole of the neighbourhood of Delhi is strewn with fragments of ruined tombs, temples, serais, and palaces; and jheels of water, and swamps, have formed themselves in the hollowed foundations of prostrate edifices, adding to the gloomy wildness of the scene. After traversing these dismal wastes, it is refreshing to emerge upon the banks of the Jumna, and to gaze upon its cool waters; the beauty of the landscape, as here shown by the engraving, being much enhanced when the dark ruins intercept the bright silvery light of a full-orbed moon, shining in its majesty over plain, and grove, and gently gliding river. The character of the Jumna differs widely from that of the Ganges, and its scenery is by many travellers considered more picturesque. Its banks are distin-

gnished by multitudes of ruins in the last stages of desolation: the crowds upon the ghauts are less numerous; many splendid specimens of Oriental architecture in these landing-places being wholly unfrequented, or occupied only by a few solitary bathers. Every cliff is crowned with the remnants of a fortress; and castles and temples, all bearing marks of decay, give to the sandy wilderness a solemn and melancholy air. It is true the Jumna overflows the country; but its waters at this place do not bring with them fertility: the bed of the river being very strongly impregnated with natron, vegetation is destroyed by the periodical inundations; and in consequence of the deleterious effects of the floods and the neglect of the wells, a great part of the country about Delhi is converted into an ocean of sand, through which the camels, plodding their weary way, do not find a bush or a blade of grass. The nature of the soil, and the numberless holes and hiding-places in the crevices and fissures of the ruins, afford abundant harbour for snakes. These and other reptiles may be seen gliding among the mouldering walls of many a crumbling mosque and palace, rearing their crests in the porticos and halls, or basking in the courts and terraces. Wolves and jackals secrete themselves by day in the vaults and recesses presented by the ruins of the deserted city; coming forth at night in packs, and making the walls resound with their hideous yells; while the white vulture keeps lonely ward upon the towers and pinnacles, screaming as it snuffs its prey in the distance, or as its keen eye follows the track of some disabled animal, in whose quivering flesh its talons will presently be buried.

RUINS—OLD DELHI.

AMIDST misshapen fragments of marble and prostrate masses of stone—where the mosque of the faithful and the temple of the idolater lie indiscriminately together in one wide sea of ruin—the circular towers which appear in the accompanying plate, still retain a considerable portion of their pristine beauty, and afford a pleasing relief to the eye weary of the utter desolation that extends in every direction over the site of old Delhi. It is not known, at the present day, to whose memory the monument occupying the centre of the quadrangle flanked by these towers was raised; but the portion that still remains, shows that, in its pristine state, it must have been a splendid embellishment of the once magnificent scene. The tomb is erected upon a terrace supported by arches, with a round tower surmounted by an open cupola at each angle; that which occupies the foreground of the engraving being the only one remaining in a tolerable state of preservation. This beautiful memorial of the past, is situated at the northern extremity of the ruins of the old city, and about a mile from the walls of modern Delhi. In the period of its splendour, this ancient capital of the Patan and Mogul emperors was said to cover a space of twenty square miles, and its ruins are still scattered over an area nearly equal in extent. Prior to the Mohammedan invasion, it had been a place of great renown, as the remains of Hindoo architecture, mingling with relics of the Moslem conquerors, still attest. The sepulchres of 180,000 saints and martyrs belonging to the faithful, were, it is said, to be found amidst the wrecks of temples and palaces, before all had crumbled into the undistinguishable mass which now renders the scene so desolate. In the time of its glory, groves and gardens spread their luxuriant foliage over a soil now so parched and sterile, that at the time the staircase of the Cootnb Minar was in too ruinous a state to admit of ascent, not a bamboo could be found to form a scaffolding for its repair.

The ruins which have formed the subject of the accompanying engraving, are situated within a short distance of an old Patan fortress of Ferozeshah, which still retains possession of a Hindoo relic to which great interest is attached. The fortress is of great extent, and contains a mosque, erected upon the site of a Hindoo temple. In the front of this ruined mosque, and in the spot on which its principal gate was erected,

is a pillar of mixed metal, about twenty-five feet in height, embellished with inscriptions in ancient, and now unintelligible, characters. This column is said to have been cast, amid spells and incantations, by an ancestor of the rajah Paitowra, who was assured, by the astrologers of his court, that as long as it continued standing, his children should rule over the inheritance which he bequeathed to them. Upon learning this tradition, Feroze Shah stayed the work of demolition he had commenced upon the temple, and suffered the column to stand in the place where it had been originally erected, in order to show the fallacy of the prediction. He strewed the pavement around it with the broken idols of Hindoo worship, which have long been turned to dust; but the pillar still remains—a trophy of Moslem power, although no longer of its independence. The last decisive battle fought between the Mohammedans and the Hindoos, which secured to the former the supremacy over Indraput, occurred nearly 600 years ago; and as the work of devastation has continued with little intermission ever since, it is not surprising that the ruins of Delhi should be so extensive.

RUINS—SOUTH SIDE OF OLD DELHI.

THE scene represented in the accompanying engraving stretches far away on the south side of the ancient city of Delhi; and there is now great difficulty and uncertainty in giving a name to even the most perfect of the edifices which still rear their lofty domes amongst the crumbling heaps that give incontestable proofs of the ravages of time, and the no less destructive vengeance of man; for, as regards old Delhi, there are now no authentic records to refer to; and tradition, ever doubtful, becomes yet more imaginative when handed down by the descendants of a race whose origin is a myth, and whose whole history is a series of brilliant romance. As to the founders of many of the imposing structures whose ruins now so sadly speak of bygone magnificence, there can be no question, since the massive grandeur of the Patan and Afghan architects is peculiar to their age and habits. Many of the buildings reared by those extraordinary people are still remarkable for their solidity, in the midst of the ruin that surrounds them; and nothing short of the wanton ravages of man, aided by the hostility of nature, could have caused a devastation so great as is here presented to view.

The old city of Delhi was indebted for the greater portion of its most interesting edifices to Feroze Shah, who employed a reign of forty-three years (*i.e.*, from 1351 to 1394; more than ordinarily exempt from the troubles and disturbances which have usually characterised empire in the East) in the adornment of his capital, and in projects for the peaceful aggrandisement of his empire. His plans were designed upon the noblest scale of architectural proportions; and the extent and durability of his works, which are not more remarkable for their gigantic dimensions than for the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their finish, excite to this day the wonder and admiration of the traveller who visits the region enriched by his munificence and advanced by his taste.

The reign of this potentate—son of the capricious and despotic emperor Mohammed Toghlik—affords a pleasing contrast to that of his predecessor, whose recklessness of the lives and welfare of his subjects has scarcely been paralleled in the history of Eastern monarchs. Thus, for instance, desiring to transfer the capital of his empire from the then flourishing city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to execute his design by commanding all the inhabitants of the former to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Dowlatabad, and there built the massive fort which still exists. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and again twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it; these removals being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning death to thousands, and distress and ruin to many more, besides spreading decay and desolation among the edifices of the city he desired to abandon. His son, Feroze Shah, on

the contrary, devoted himself to the welfare of his people, and to the consolidation and improvement of the empire to which he succeeded upon his father's death; and among other efforts of amelioration and advancement that entitle his memory to grateful veneration, may be mentioned the diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, and the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, all which evinced the solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of those under his sway. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravansaries, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and other public edifices, were built; and revenues arising from land were assessed by him for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder, in the canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. A portion of this, extending about 200 miles, was, a few years back, restored to usefulness by the British government. Soon after the death of this great monarch, the Mahratta power, which had already threatened to reduce the whole of India to a desert, began to be felt; and, amid all the struggles which succeeded, increased in strength, until the necessity of seeking refuge within the walls of new Delhi (founded by Shah Jehan in 1631), from the ferocious horde that tyrannised over the descendants of Aurungzebe, occasioned the total abandonment of the old city, which was already partly in ruins, and laid waste by its modern conquerors.

CALCUTTA.

This important city, the principal seat of the government of British India, is situated on the eastern bank of the river Hooghly, a navigable branch of the Ganges, at a distance of about 100 miles from the sea. Its geographical position is found in lat. $22^{\circ} 33' 54''$ N., and long. $88^{\circ} 20' 17''$ E. From Calcutta, in a north-easterly direction, the travelling distances to the three chief seats of recent rebellion, are as follow:—From Benares, 428 miles; from Lucknow, 649; and from Delhi, 976. The spot chosen for the site of the capital is by no means the most favourable that might have been selected, as the surrounding country is flat and marshy; and extensive muddy lakes, with an immense forest, stretched in close proximity to the town, and produced a deleterious influence upon the general health of the inhabitants. Much has been effected, within the last few years, to obviate some of these local disadvantages, by draining the streets, filling up the stagnant pools, and clearing the jungle; but the air is still considerably affected by the vicinity of the marshy district called the Sunderbunds; through which, in many channels, the Ganges pours its mighty stream into the Bay of Bengal. The Hooghly, at Calcutta, is about a mile in breadth at high water; but, during the ebbs, its opposite side presents an unsightly range of long, dry sand-banks.

The city of Calcutta affords a remarkable instance of rapid advancement from comparative insignificance as an obscure village, to a state of almost imperial splendour as the capital of an immense empire, originating in the following accidental and somewhat romantic incident of the 15th century*:—"Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartment, set her dress on fire while passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor; and, fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, the terrified princess rushed into the harem, enveloped by fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire: and the surgeons of the English ships then at Surat, having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to that place for one of them. A Mr. Gabriel Broughton was selected for the occasion; and having, fortunately, been conspicuously instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by the grateful father to name his reward. With rare disinterest-

Martin's Indian Empire, vol. i., p. 214.

edness, Broughton asked only for advantages to the Company of which he was the servant; and, in return for his skilful treatment of the suffering princess, and his subsequent attendance upon the household of the emperor, and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence to the company of English merchants trading to the East Indies, for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories; which was speedily availed of, by the establishment of them at various places; and of which one was at Hooghly, on the western bank of the river. At this factory the Company continued to trade until 1696, when the emperor Aurungzebe permitted them to remove their establishment to the petty native village of Govindpoor, on the eastern bank; and, in the following year, to secure their possession by a small fort. So slow was the early progress of the new settlement, that up to 1717, Govindpoor—the site of *Calicata*, or Calcutta, now the “City of Palaces”—remained an assemblage of wretched huts, with only a few hundreds of inhabitants; and even so late as 1756, it had not more than seventy houses in it occupied by Europeans. In 1742, it was found necessary to augment the means of defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas, who had become troublesome; and the fort was surrounded by a ditch—a precaution that was found utterly useless when, in June, 1756, the subahdar, or viceroy of Bengal, Surajah-ud-Dowlah, made an attack upon the factory, of which he obtained possession, and immortalised the memory of his conquest by the wanton destruction of the European residents by suffocation in one of the dungeons of the fort.” The catastrophe is thus related:—“Upon the soldiers of Surajah-ud-Dowlah entering the fort, after a well-sustained resistance, by which they had lost many men, the inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the congratulatory addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory he had achieved. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) disappointed him; but when Mr. Holwell, a member of council (upon whom the defence of the factory had devolved after the troops had deserted the place), was brought into his presence with fettered hands, he was immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, Surajah declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening, and Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity (146 in number), while the question was discussed by their captors, how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups conversing together, utterly unsuspecting of their impending doom. The chief officer at length reported, that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison—known, in military parlance, as ‘the Black Hole’—a chamber eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows secured by thick iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European offenders, this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow; but the prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, the greater part of whom were English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. These unfortunates, in their ignorance of Mahratta nature, at first derided the idea of being shut up in the ‘Black Hole,’ as being a manifest impossibility; but their incredulity was of short duration. The guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-caste woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Mr. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guard, to procure their separation into two places. He apparently made some attempt to effect this; but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the desired permission, without which, no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits but of one comparison in horror—that one is, the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness to the last; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most

appalling description, they rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator; while others, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts, to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of one compassionate soldier; the other guards holding lights to the iron bars, and shouting with fiendish laughter at the death-agonies and frantic struggles of the prisoners. Towards daybreak, the tumult in the cell of death began to diminish; shrieks and supplications were succeeded by low, fitful moans; a sickly pestilential vapour steamed through the bars—the majority of the prisoners had perished; corruption had commenced; and the few who yet survived, were sinking fast. The sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased, and he was informed of the importunities of the prisoners. The door was then forced open by his command. After the suffocating vapour had partially escaped, the guards ordered the prisoners to come forth; and from the dark gloom of that dungeon, and over the corpses that laid thick upon its floor, twenty-three ghastly figures staggered into the light of day, one by one, faint and crushed by the intensity of their sufferings through the suffocating agonies of that dreadful night." Among the survivors of this horrible catastrophe were Mr. Holwell and the half-caste woman mentioned, who entered that dungeon a devoted wife, and left it a forlorn and broken-hearted widow—her European husband having fallen in the sacrificial oblation to Mahratta vengeance. Upon the result of the night's work being reported to the chief, he ordered a pit to be dug in front of the dungeon, into which the bodies of the 123 murdered men were promiscuously thrown.

No appearance of regret was manifested by the subahdar for this atrocity. The first flush of exultation had passed away, and resentment for his pecuniary disappointment became now the dominant feeling. Mr. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasure of the Company, which had been removed previous to the capture of the fort. As no satisfactory answer could be given to his inquiries, the few surviving victims were lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to endure, as they might, the crisis of the fever consequent upon their imprisonment through the night of the 20th of June. Several did survive; and their release was eventually procured through the intercession of the grandmother of Surajah Dowlah, and a native merchant named Omichund. Upon the return of Mr. Holwell to Europe some time afterwards, that gentleman and a Mr. Cooke, a sharer of his sufferings, gave a painfully-interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.* In October, 1756, Calcutta was recovered by a force under General Clive, after a siege of two hours only; at the end of which the Mahratta chief and his garrison sought their safety by flight. The "Black Hole" was afterwards converted into a warehouse; and an obelisk, fifty feet high, raised before the entrance, commemorates the names of the victims that perished within its fatal enclosure.

Passing by the gradual development of this now important city until it had taken rank among the capitals of empires, it may be observed, that within little more than half a century from the event above-mentioned, the inconsiderable village and fort of 1756, which merely covered a few acres of land, had grown into a magnificent city, extending for more than six miles along the river side, and penetrating inland, in some places, to nearly the same distance. The authoress of *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindoostan*, when exercising her pleasingly-descriptive pen upon reminiscences of Calcutta, says—"The approach to the 'City of Palaces' from the river is exceedingly fine; the Hooghly, at all periods of the year, presents a broad surface of sparkling water; and as it winds through a richly-wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure, and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments." The usual landing-place, Champaul Ghaut, is formed by a magnificent flight of stone steps, ascending from the water to a noble esplanade, which opens to the town by a triumphal arch of fine proportions, and supported by columns of elaborate design. Passing beneath this ornamental structure, a wide plain (or meidan), occupying a spacious quadrangular area, is intersected by broad roads which lead towards the interior. On two sides of this quadrangle, a part of the city and of the fashionable suburb of Chowringee extend themselves. The houses are, for the most part, detached from each other, or are connected only by long

* Parl. Papers (East India Company), 1772.

ranges of raised terraces, surmounted, like the flat roofs of the houses, with balustrades. In many instances pillared verandahs extend the entire height and width of the buildings, only intersected by spacious porticos: the architectural effect of the interminable clusters of columns, balustrated terraces, and lofty gateways, occasionally intermingled with brilliant foliage and shrubs of surpassing loveliness, is indescribably beautiful. The material of the houses is termed *puckha*—brick coated with cement of dazzling whiteness; and although the claims of the "City of Palaces" to high architectural merit have been questioned, and there may be many faults discoverable when tested by the strict rules of art, there is still sufficient to inspire the stranger with unmingled admiration at the magnificence of the *coup d'œil* that is presented from the Champaul Ghaut, from which point the eye embraces a wide range of the city, diversified by palaces and temples, spires and minarets, domes and towers, whose sharp, clear outlines are thrown into bold relief by the umbrageous verdure with which they are intermingled.

The magnificent building erected by the Marquis Wellesley for the residence of the governor-general of British India, is situated on one side of the spacious quadrangle mentioned; and in a line with it, on either side, is a range of handsome buildings occupied as offices of the government, and the abode of the higher class of officials in its service. The governor-general's palace consists of a rustic basement, with a superstructure of the Ionic order. A spacious flight of steps, on the north side of the edifice, extends over an arch by which carriages approach the principal entrance; and the south side is decorated with a circular colonnade, surmounted by a dome. The wings contain the private apartments of the palace, which are connected by circular passages, arranged to have the advantage of the air from all quarters. The central portion of the building contains several magnificent apartments for state occasions, and the council-chamber of the governor-general.

The principal square of Calcutta, called Tank-square, occupies a quadrangular area of about 500 yards; in the centre of which is a large tank, sixty feet deep, surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and having steps descending to the bottom. The square contains the old fort of Govindpoor (the original *Calicata*) and the custom-house—a noble building, in front of which a handsome quay has been formed. This portion of Calcutta is called "The Strand," and extends hence more than two miles along the bank of the river. During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, from 1813 to 1823, much was done to improve the sanitary state of the capital by drainage and ventilation. A street sixty feet wide was opened through the centre of it, from end to end, and several squares were laid out, each of which, like the one already mentioned, has a tank in the centre, surrounded by planted walks. The southern part of the city is chiefly inhabited by Europeans; but a view of Calcutta limited to that portion only, would give a very erroneous idea of the whole of the metropolis of British India.

The portion principally occupied by the natives is called Black Town, and lies northward of the European quarter, to which it presents a marked contrast. In extent it comprises about three-fourths of the entire space built over; the streets and avenues being narrow, dirty, and unpaved. Many of the houses of the better class of inhabitants are built of brick, two storeys high, with terraced roofs; but the far greater number of habitations are either mud cottages, or huts built of bamboo, or other slight material, and swarm with an excess of population in proportion to the accommodation they are calculated to afford. From the close contiguity, and fragile material used in these buildings, fires are frequent and destructive in the Black Town, but do not often affect the European quarter. Upwards of twenty bazaars, well supplied with merchandise from all parts of the world, and with provisions in abundance, offer to the inhabitants all that is requisite for their consumption.

Besides the government-house and the old fort, the other public buildings of note in Calcutta are the town-house, the courts of justice, the theatres and assembly-rooms, and numerous places of worship adapted to the various rituals that flourish under the tolerant rule of Britain. Amongst them are two churches belonging to the English—one of them being the cathedral of the diocese of Calcutta; other edifices, dedicated to Christian worship, belong to the Portuguese, the Armenians, and the Greeks; and there are also several temples and mosques belonging to the Hindoo and Mohammedan inhabitants.

Fort William stands about a quarter of a mile below the town, and has been considered the strongest fortress belonging to the English throughout their possessions in India. In form it is an irregular octagon, built at a cost of £200,000, after a design approved by Clive soon after the battle of Plassy, in 1757. The five sides of the octagon next the land are extensive, and are mounted with a formidable armament for the protection, or, if necessary, for the destruction of the town, or any adverse force in possession of it: the three sides towards the river completely command the approach to the town in that direction. The interior of the fort is open, and affords a vast space for military parades, besides well-arranged and shaded promenades, kept in excellent order. The barracks, which are bomb-proof, are sufficiently large to accommodate 10,000 men; and it would require, with its 619 pieces of cannon in position, and adequately manned, as many troops to garrison it as would form an army capable of taking the field. Besides the quarters for the men, Fort William contains only such buildings as are absolutely necessary for the convenience of the establishment; a house for the commandant, officers' quarters, and the arsenal, which is kept well supplied with military stores. The entire cost of this fortress, since its construction in 1757, has exceeded £1,000,000 sterling.

As the seat of government, Calcutta possesses also the supreme court of judicature for the presidency of Bengal. This court is under the control of a chief justice and two puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The native courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nazamut Adawlut (the former for civil, and the latter for criminal causes), are courts of appeal from the provincial courts in all parts of Hindoostan.

Calcutta was erected into a diocese under the prelate of the Rev. Dr. Heber in 1814; and the annual stipend of the bishopric is £5,000, with an episcopal palace. The religious, educational, literary, and scientific institutions of Calcutta are numerous, and of a high order. A Sanscrit college, a Mohammedan college, and an Anglo-Indian college are severally supported by grants from the government, which also affords aid to many establishments for instructing the native children, and those of the poorer classes of Europeans. The college of Fort William (founded by the Marquis Wellesley) is chiefly directed to the completion of the education, in native languages, of cadets and *employés* of the East India Company, who have been partially educated at Haileybury. The opulent inhabitants of Calcutta, both native and European, also contribute liberally to the support of charitable foundations of various kinds.

Besides the five libraries of the public institutions, such as those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded by Sir William Jones in 1784), Fort William College, the Botanical Society, the Agricultural and Horticultural Societies of India, the Calcutta Literary Society, &c., the capital is amply supplied with excellent subscription libraries and reading-rooms. Of these, the Calcutta Public Library is entitled to the first rank. A Mechanics' Institute has also been established, and is well supported by the class for whose benefit it was designed.

The Botanical Gardens are situated on a bend of the river at Garden Reach, the favourite summer residence of opulent Anglo-Indians; and are within about half-an-hour's row from Champaul Ghaut. This noble establishment of the government is at all times open to visitors: it contains all the varieties of vegetation known throughout Hindoostan; with a vast collection of exotics, chiefly from Nepal, Pulo-Penang, Sumatra, and Java; besides contributions from Brazil, the Cape, and other regions of the Americas and of Africa, as well as from Australia and the islands of the Southern Ocean. Above this magnificent garden is a large plantation of teak—a wood which is not indigenous in this part of India, but is most invaluable in ship-building; a branch of national industry that is carried on at Calcutta to a considerable extent.

One of the great inconveniences of Calcutta arises from its great deficiency of water. It has not unfrequently happened, in and about the city, that after boring to a depth of more than 150 feet, no springs have been reached: the water-supply of a great portion of the inhabitants is therefore dependent upon *bheesties* (or water-carriers), who are attached to almost every establishment.

The markets of Calcutta are profusely supplied with butchers' meat, venison, game, fish, vegetables and fruits, all of which are generally to be obtained at moderate prices. The game consists of hares, wild ducks, teal, ortolans, snipes, &c. Amongst the water products is the mango-fish—which derives its name from appearing in the river only at the

season in which the mangoes ripen ; and is regarded as a great delicacy. Pine-apples, melons, oranges, peaches, guavas, loquats, strawberries, &c., are produced in infinite variety, and are of the most exquisite flavour.

Amongst the luxurious abundance beneath which the tables of the upper class of public servants at the seat of government literally groan, it is amusing to find that the recognised delicacies of an entertainment chiefly consist of hermetically-sealed salmon, red-herrings, cheese, smoked sprats, raspberry jam, and dried fruits : these articles coming from Europe, and being sometimes difficult to procure in a desirable state, are frequently sold at almost fabulous prices.

The population of Calcutta, exclusive of the suburbs, was, in 1850, estimated at 413,182 ; that of the entire place, with the districts adjacent, comprised within a circle of twenty miles, was computed by the magistrates, a few years since, at 2,225,000 persons ; and the numbers have progressively increased to the present time. Besides the human crowds which people the capital and its suburbs, the swarms of animal life, of an inferior order, that are attracted by the enormous quantity of viands, of every kind, that are daily thrown into the thoroughfares, are remarkable. The exceeding waste of animal and other food by European families at this place, is partly accounted for by the fact of the religious prejudices of the native servants, who will not partake of food prepared by others than of their own *caste*. The lower order of the Portuguese, who constitute the bulk of European society of their class, and to whom much of the wasted abundance might be serviceable, cannot consume the whole, and their inefficiency is accordingly made up for by amazing flocks of crows, kites, and vultures ; which, undisturbed by man, live together, and, at times, almost cover the houses and gardens. In their useful occupation as scavengers, the kites and crows are assisted, during the day, by the adjutant-bird, or stork, and, after sunset, by pariah dogs, foxes, and jackals, which then emerge from the neighbouring jungles, and fight over their garbage, making "night hideous with their discordant noises."

Calcutta, from its position and local resources, was not likely to be materially affected by the insurrectionary outbreak that carried fire and sword with desolating fury through the fair provinces of which it was the capital ; and many reasons conspired to secure this immunity. For instance, there were, on all occasions, more Europeans at Calcutta than in any other city in India, who could present a formidable barrier to the efforts of the disaffected : there was the immediate presence and influence of the viceregal court—objects of great weight upon the native mind ; the head-quarters of all authority was concentrated in the city, ensuring the promptest measures that, in any exigency, might be required : and besides all this, it was the port of debarkation for successive arrivals of European troops—a fact which alone would have sufficed to quench the aspirations of the most sanguine amongst the rebelliously inclined of its native population. Yet the capital was not altogether free from causes of disquietude, nor was the government regardless of the necessity for unremitting vigilance. Two important measures, however, that were considered requisite for the safety of the state—namely, a bill restraining the exuberant tone of the press, and for the registration of arms—met with much popular clamour. A great cause of uneasiness also arose from the fact that, at the time of the outbreak, scarcely any English troops were quartered in Fort William ; while the proximity of the military stations at Barrackpore and Dumdum (the first being sixteen miles, and the latter only eight miles from the seat of government, and, at the time of the mutiny, chiefly occupied by native troops), was a circumstance well calculated to inspire alarm : fortunately, beyond alarm, no immediate evil result afflicted Calcutta society, in connection with the revolt. The first occasion for disquietude arose on the 17th of May, immediately after intelligence of the outrages at Meerut and Delhi had reached the government. Some men belonging to a native regiment, encamped on the esplanade between the Coolie Bazaar and Fort William, were reported as having made mutinous overtures to the soldiers on duty at the fort ; their object, in the first instance, being to obtain ammunition, and then, in conjunction with the sepoys, to take possession of the fort during the night ; and after putting the Europeans within the walls to death, to turn the guns of the fort upon the shipping, to prevent intelligence being conveyed from the country ; and then to play upon the city while the European population were massacred, and their property destroyed. Having effected thus much, the city was to be given up to pillage.

and the native troops, laden with spoil, were then to march to Delhi, and join the standard of the Mogul. However much or little of truth there might be in the report, it was at once conveyed to the fort-major by the men to whom the alleged design had been revealed, and steps were immediately taken for the protection of the fort and city. The drawbridges at Fort William were raised, and ladders of communication withdrawn from the ditches; the guns on the several bastions were shotted, and additional guards placed over the arsenal. European sentinels were stationed at the officers' quarters, and on the ramparts; while patrols were kept on duty through the city, to report the first symptom of active outbreak. The night, however, passed over without any attempt to disturb the peace; and on the following day a sufficient European force was moved into the capital, and the regiments on the esplanade were then quietly disarmed.

About the middle of June, circumstances transpired that rendered it expedient to remove the ex-king of Oude (who had, for some time previous, occupied a residence at Garden Reach, a suburb of Calcutta) from the native influences that surrounded him; and it was determined that, for a time, his majesty should become an inmate of Fort William, to which he was accordingly removed, under the following circumstances:—At daybreak on the morning of the 15th of June, a detachment of the 37th regiment, which had just arrived at Calcutta from Ceylon, was marched down to Garden Reach, with two guns; and, before its approach was observed, had surrounded the palace. The officer in command then demanded an audience of his majesty; and, reaching his presence, respectfully announced his mission, and, at the same time, delivered an autograph from the governor-general, addressed to the king, in the following terms:—

“Fort William, June 15th.

“Sir,—It is with pain that I find myself compelled to require that your majesty's person should, for a season, be removed to within the precincts of Fort William. The name of your majesty, and the authority of your court, are used by persons who seek to excite resistance to the British government; and it is necessary that this should cease. Your majesty knows that, from the day when it pleased you to fix your residence near Calcutta to the present time, yourself, and those about your majesty, have been entirely free and uncontrolled. Your majesty may be assured, then, that it is not the desire of the governor-general in council to interfere needlessly with your movements and actions. Your majesty may be equally certain that the respect due to your majesty's high position will never be forgotten by the government or its officers, and that every possible provision will be made for your majesty's convenience and comfort.—CANNING.”*

The surprise was so perfect, and the arrangements so well carried out, that not the slightest chance of successful opposition to the measure existed. No resistance was offered; and, at seven o'clock in the morning, the king of Oude, accompanied by two commissioned officers of the governor-general's staff, was quietly conveyed a prisoner to apartments prepared for his reception in Fort William.

Numerous arrests followed this decisive step; and the subsequent conspiracy for a general rising in the city and suburbs, as well as in other parts of the province of Bengal, and the late kingdom of Oude, became known to the government in ample time to enable it to adopt measures for the security of the capital.

THE CITY OF MADRAS.

THE city of Madras (or Fort St. George), the capital of a presidency, and the chief emporium of commerce on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, is situated in lat. 13° 5' N., long. 80° 21' E. In travelling distances, it is 1,030 miles S. from Calcutta, 758 S.E. from Bombay, and 1,275 S.E. from Delhi. The approach to Madras from the sea is peculiar: low, flat, sandy shores extend far to the north and south; and small

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 586.

barren hills, that form the boundary of the view inland, contribute to impress the spectator with a sense of sterility and loneliness that only wears off with a near proximity to the land, when the beach is seen, as it were, alive with the swarms of animate nature that cover it to the very verge of the sea. The public offices and buildings erected near the beach are handsome, with colonnades or verandahs to the upper storeys; supported on arched bases, and covered with the beautiful shell mortar (or chunam) of Madras—hard, smooth, and polished like marble. Within a few yards of the sea the fortifications of Fort St. George present an imposing appearance, and beyond them are seen minarets and pagodas, intermixed with luxuriant foliage. Within the fort a lighthouse rears its monitory crest ninety feet above the level of the sea, and is visible from the mast-head of a large ship, at a distance of twenty-six miles.

Madras has no harbour, and vessels of heavy burthen are obliged to moor in the roads—about two miles from the fort. A strong current runs along the coast, and a tremendous surf breaks on the shore, rendering it difficult to land even in the calmest weather. In crossing this surf the natives use boats of a peculiar construction, built of very thin planks laced together, and made as pliable as possible. The boats from the vessels often row to the outside of the surf, and wait for the masulah (or native boats) to take the passengers on shore. Fishermen, and others of the lower class employed on the water, frequently use a simple kind of conveyance for passing the surf, called a "catamaran," which they resort to when the sea is too rough for the masulah boats to venture out. These substitutes are formed of two or three logs of wood about ten feet long, lashed together, with a picce of wood between them to serve as a helm. Sitting astride this unique barque, two men, armed with paddles, launch themselves upon the surf to fish, or to convey messages to and from the ships in the roads, when no other means of communication is available. The Madras boatmen are expert swimmers; and when, as is frequently the case, they are washed from the catamaran by the force of the surging waves, they make no difficulty in regaining their perilous seats, and proceeding on their mission.

The most striking object from the sea is Fort St. George, which, as it now stands, embraces the remains of the original fortress (erected in 1640), and long since converted into storehouses and public offices. The present building is strong and handsome, extensive, and well defended; its face towards the sea being deemed impregnable, as the heavy surf would effectually prevent the landing of an enemy. Within the walls are the post-office, magazines, storehouses, barracks, hospitals, and other necessary requirements. The governor's residence is a spacious building of some pretension to architectural beauty; and on the esplanade in front of it, is a marble statue of the Marquis Cornwallis. Southward from the site of the Old Fort is a large and commodious church, in which has been erected a splendid memorial of Bishop Heber—sculptured by Chantrey, and representing the estimable prelate in the solemn act of confirming two native converts in the doctrines of a faith more pure, more holy, than those of the benighted race from whose errors they have been rescued.

The southern exit from the fort leads to the fashionable drive of European Madras—the South Beach, which is a strip of road about a quarter of a mile in length along the shore. At the end of the drive is an oval enclosure, consisting of a lawn and gravel-walks; in the centre of which a military band "discourses sweet music," for about an hour, to the *élite* of Madras society, on three evenings of the week. There are several other pleasant drives in the vicinity of the town, especially the Mount-road—so named from its leading to the artillery station at St. Thomas's Mount. This road, which is six miles in length, presents a continuous succession of charming villas, interspersed with luxuriant foliage, and nestled in gardens, where the rich glow of Oriental flowers is tempered by the sober verdure of the groves that surround them, and leave nothing for fancy to desire for delighting the eye or enchanting the imagination. "Here," says a recent traveller, "are to be seen, in the most lavish abundance, the plume-like broad-leaved plantain, the gracefully drooping bamboo, the proud coronet of the cocoa waving with every breeze, the fan-leaf of the still taller palm, the delicate areca, the obelisk-like aloe, the majestic banian with its drooping stems—the giant arms outstretching from a columnar and strangely convoluted trunk, and shooting forth the pliant fibrous strings which plant themselves in the earth below, and add support and dignity to the umbrageous canopy above them."

Near the Mount-road is the racecourse, on the town side of which is a stone bridge of many arches, over a wide and deep ravine which forms a channel for the waters during the rainy season—a shallow stream meandering along its bed at other times; on the banks of which are generally collected some hundreds of dhobies (washermen), with the tents in which their families are located. It is noticed as peculiarly characteristic of the arrogance and exclusive pretensions of Europeans in India, that their own vehicles alone are permitted to traverse this bridge; the bullock hackeries of the natives being compelled to descend on one side, and, after wading through the water, ascend the somewhat precipitous bank on the other. With such, and many equally offensive assumptions of superiority regulating the intercourse between the English residents and the native population, it is hardly likely that any other feeling could be cherished by the latter than that of hatred, not the less intense because veiled beneath a mask of servile obsequiousness.

Government-house, which is by no means remarkable either for architectural beauty or the accommodation it affords, is situated at the head of the Mount-road. The garden, or park, by which it is surrounded, is spacious, and extends to the shore, where the governor of the presidency has a smaller habitation, named the "Marine Villa."

The Black Town, which is beyond the fort from the sea, is described by a recent traveller as being large and very populous: the streets mostly run at right angles, and parallel with each other. As the mercantile business of the place is transacted here, the shops of Europeans and natives are chiefly established in the Black Town; and, with the residences of the Portuguese and natives, occupy a considerable area. The joint population of the two towns is estimated at 480,000.

The climate of Madras is considered to be less sultry than that of Bengal; and such stations as are situated on the higher grounds of the table-land, enjoy a very agreeable temperature. Society is more limited than that of Calcutta, and displays less attention to the elegancies of life. Parbury, in his *Handbook of India*, describes the manners of the Europeans as of a haughty and ridiculously exclusive character—an assertion which seems to be warranted by the fact related of the Ravine bridge.

During the recent calamitous events that have deluged a vast portion of the sister presidency with blood, that of Madras remained almost entirely free from disturbance. With one solitary exception (the 8th regiment of Madras native cavalry), the native troops not only kept faith with the government that fed and paid them, but also cheerfully offered their services against the mutinous sepoys of Bengal. Many of the regiments were employed in the course of the struggles of 1857-'8, and rendered good service in the battles fought with the insurgent troops. The only instance of dissatisfaction and reluctance to obey the orders of their commander, was furnished by the regiment above-mentioned, which mutinied on its way from Bangalore to Madras (where it was to embark for Calcutta), on the ground of the unsatisfactory rates of pay, batta, and pension. The local government unwisely yielded to the demands of the men in this instance, and the regiment resumed its march; but after proceeding thirteen miles further, the troopers again halted, and declared "they would not go forth to war against their countrymen." Prompt measures were then taken to put an end to this insubordinate conduct: the men were unhorsed and disarmed, and sent to do dismounted duty at Arcot; and their horses and arms were forthwith shipped to Calcutta, where the accession was, at the moment, of great value to the government.

BOMBAY.

THE island, town, and harbour of Bombay, from which the presidency has been named, lie off the western shore of the Concan, in the province of Bejapoor; the town occupying the south-eastern extremity of the island, and being in lat. $18^{\circ} 56' N.$, long. $72^{\circ} 57' E.$ Its distance from Calcutta is 1,301 miles south-east; and, from Madras, 774 miles, also

south-east. The small island upon which the capital of the presidency is situated, is about eight miles in length from north to south, and is three miles broad in its widest part. Separated from the mainland by an arm of the sea, Bombay forms, with the contiguous islands of Colaba, or "Old Woman's Island," Salsette ("Butcher's Island"), and Caranja—visible in the annexed engraving—one of the finest harbours in Hindoostan. Two derivations have been assigned to the present name of the island—one from the Hindoo goddess, Bomba (Devi); the other from the Portuguese, Buon Bahia (a good bay or harbour.)

The harbour of Bombay presents one of the most striking and beautiful views that ever delighted the eye of an artist. The splendour and sublimity of its scenery offer such numberless claims to admiration, that it is considered by many to bear the palm from the far-famed Bay of Naples. During the best season of the year the sea is smooth, its undulations resembling rather those of an inland lake than the waters of an ocean; while the breeze blowing in-shore during the greater part of the day, enables the very smallest boats, with the assistance of the tide, to voyage along the coast, or to the several islands which gem the scarcely ruffled wave, and to return with the succeeding flood without encountering any of the dangers that are experienced in less secure places. Even during the monsoon, when many other points of the Indian coast are unapproachable—when the lofty and apparently interminable mountains which form the magnificent background are capped with clouds, and the sea-birds that love the storm skim between the foam-crowned billows—the fishing-boats breast the waves in Bombay harbour, and pursue their occupation without hindrance. At this season, although the reality of the danger is nothing to experienced sailors, the aspect of the harbour becomes wild and even terrific; darkness envelopes the sky, and the woody promontories and bold romantic cliffs, rising above village, town, and tower, are obscured by the dingy scud which drives along. When, however, the wrath of the storm-king has subsided, and the fury of the monsoon has exhausted itself, settled weather and clear skies once more appear, and the harbour is again seen in all its beauty and luxuriance.

Bombay derives its origin and importance, as a European settlement, from the Portuguese, to whom it was ceded by the Mogul government in 1530; having previously been a dependency belonging to a Hindoo prince residing at Tanua, in the island of Salsette. It came into possession of the English in 1662, on the marriage of Charles II. with the infanta Catherine of Portugal, as part of the marriage dowry of that princess. By the king it was disposed of to the East India Company, who took possession of it on the 23rd of September, 1668, and retained it in their hands until their territorial rights in India were surrendered to the crown of England in 1858.

Standing principally on a narrow neck of land at the south-eastern extremity of the island, the fort and town command a beautiful prospect across a bay diversified with rocky islets, and crowned by a background of picturesque hills. The town itself is low, and, during the rainy season, is subject to inundation. The fortifications are extensive, and would require a numerous garrison for their defence: towards the sea, they are of great strength; but on the land side, an enemy having once obtained a footing on the island, would find little difficulty with them. The fort or garrison embraces a surface of 234 acres, and contains a very large population. On one side, between the fort and the sea (at Back Bay), is a tract of almost level ground, 387 acres in extent, and about 1,800 yards in length along the shore; which is not available for any purpose of improvement, through a regulation which prohibits the erection of any permanent building within 800 yards of the batteries. This regulation is, however, evaded by the expensive and inconvenient expedient of erecting, and demolishing annually, a line of temporary erections, of about three-quarters of a mile in length; which, for the time allowed, supply the place of houses. These habitations are constructed of wood, with trellis-work of bamboo, and surrounded with a canvas like a large tent. They are thatched over with cadjous, or the leaves of the palmyra-tree, and lined inside with curtains or ornamental cloth, and are chiefly occupied by the highest class of the military officers and civil servants of the government. Beyond this line is a large encampment for officers temporarily resident in Bombay, who occupy tents. The bungalows are surrounded by ornamental railings, covered with the passion-flower, and other rapidly-growing creeping plants, and are generally furnished with flower or vegetable gardens. The compound

thus formed, opens out on the sea-beach on one side, and on a line of road nearly parallel with the batteries on the other. The effect of the whole is highly picturesque and pleasing; but the garrison regulations require that they shall be removed once a year. Up to the middle of May, then, we have a line of beautiful rustic villas which, together with the officers' tents at its extremity, extends nearly a mile along the shore. All at once, as though some panic had seized the inhabitants, or a plague had broken out in the doomed suburb, the bungalows or villas of the esplanade begin to be deserted, and are forthwith demolished, the materials of which they are composed being rapidly removed. So quickly does the work of destruction proceed, that, in the course of a fortnight, not a vestige is to be seen of the lately populous suburb of Bombay. By the first fall of rain, the dwellings have vanished as if by magic—roofs, walls, and framework; the very tents and their occupants are also gone. The esplanade, for a few days, presents a very unsightly appearance: the floor and foundations of houses, torn paper-hangings, the refuse of straw used for packing, fragments of broken fences, and the remains of ruined shrubberies and flower-pots, are all that is left to designate the site of the departed town. Another week, and all this is changed: the first fall of rain covers everything with grass; and the esplanade, which was, on the 15th of May, covered by a town, and on the 1st of June presented a scene of slovenly and unsightly desolation—by the 15th of June is a bright green sward, as close and continuous as that on which the deer of some ancestral manor in England have browsed for centuries. The reappearance of these ephemeral habitations is nearly as magical as their departure: the 15th of September sees the esplanade a verdant lawn; October again witnesses the suburb formerly described.

Many of the permanent residences, both within and without the fort, are, however, commodiously built, particularly in the European quarter. Those within the fort, that were originally erected by the Portuguese, have wooden verandahs, supported by pillars of the same material; and as this style of building has been continued, Bombay bears no resemblance to the sister capitals of Calcutta and Madras. The northern quarter of the fort, inhabited chiefly by Parsee fanatics, is dirty and offensive; and the lower classes of the inhabitants live in little clay huts thatched with palmyra-leaves, outside the fort.

There are several churches belonging to the Portuguese and Armenians, as also three or four synagogues, both within and beyond the fortifications, as well as a number of mosques and Hindoo temples. The largest of the latter, dedicated to the worship of Bomba Devi, is about a mile and a-half from the fort. The only English church in Bombay is within the fort.

The government-house, or Castle, as it was originally designated, is a large commodious building; but it has long been disused as a state residence, and is appropriated for public offices. The governor has two other residences for his accommodation; the one named Parell, at a short distance northward from the fort, being usually occupied as a town residence; the other, used as a retreat in the hot weather, being at Malabar Point. Parell, originally a college of Jesuits, though not built in a commanding position, is described as very prettily situated "in the midst of gardens, having a rich background of wood; while, from the upper windows, the eye, after ranging over luxuriant groves, catches a view of the sea, and is carried away to more remote regions by the waving outline of distant hills melting into the soft haze, until it effaces all their details."* The house is an irregular structure, without pretension to architectural design or ornamentation, but yet having something noble in its appearance; an impression which is increased by a fine portico and castellated roof. The interior is spacious and convenient. Two flights of marble stairs, twelve feet wide, lead into a handsome suite of drawing-rooms, with galleries on either side. The terrace over the portico, separated from this suite of rooms by a verandah, is easily convertible into another reception-room, being roofed in by an awning, and furnished with blinds which, in the daytime, give an Italian air to the entire building. The gardens are purely Italian, with cypress-trees and fountains, and the arrangements of the grounds are sufficiently picturesque to satisfy even fastidious criticism. A broad terrace, overlooking a large tank, runs along one side of the gardens; and beyond, upon a rising hill, are seen the new horticultural gardens, and a part of the picturesque village of Metunga. The floral features of the gardens at Parell are of the

* Miss Roberts' *Overland Journey to Bombay*.

most choice description ; but the abundance of roses seems to defy computation, bushels being collected every day for months without any apparent diminution ; and it has been questioned whether there is, in any part of the world, so great a consumption of this beautiful flower as in Bombay. The natives cultivate it largely ; and as comparatively but few employ it in the manufacture of rose-water, it is gathered and given away in the most lavish profusion. "At Parell," writes Miss Roberts, "every morning, one of the gardeners renews the flowers which decorate the apartments of the guests: *bouquets* are placed on the breakfast tables ; vases, filled with roses, meet the eye in every direction, and present specimens of this beautiful flower—the common productions of the garden—that are rarely found even in the hothouses of Europe."

Malabar Point, the summer retreat for the governor's establishment, is a remarkable promontory on the island of Bombay ; where there is a hole or cleft in the rock, of much sanctity with the Hindoos. Pilgrims resort thither for the purpose of regeneration, which they conceive to be effected by passing themselves through the cleft. The spot is of considerable elevation, among rocks of difficult access ; and, in the stormy season, is incessantly lashed by the surf of the ocean—a circumstance that involves no difficulty in it when viewed through the eye of fanaticism. Near it are the ruins of a temple believed to have been destroyed by the Portuguese, in their pious detestation of the idols of any other faith than their own.

The governor's mansion, and several bungalows around it, occupy the side of a hill overlooking and washed by the sea. The views are beautiful ; the harbour affording, at all times and from every point of view, scenes of great liveliness and interest ; while the aerial summits of the hills in the distance, amid their purple splendours, complete the charm. The numerous fairy-like skiffs, with their white sails catching the sunlight, give animation to the picture ; while the cottages of the fishermen are often placed, with artistic effect, upon the neighbouring shore. Since their expulsion from Persia by the Mohammedans, the Parsees, or Fire-worshippers, have constituted a large portion of the population of Bombay. They are a peculiar race, and adhere scrupulously to their ancient religious customs and observances. In the morning and evening they crowd to the esplanade or the sea-shore, to prostrate themselves in adoration before the sun. Taken as a whole, they are an active, intelligent, and loyal body of men, and contribute greatly to the growth and prosperity of the settlement, the mercantile wealth and property of which is principally in their hands. Among the lower class of these people, it is observed that, though the men are found in the service of every European family, they do not allow their wives or daughters to become domestics to foreigners, and only permit them to become servants among their own people. Their funerals are of a remarkable character—the dead being deposited in large cylindrical towers open to the air, and left until the vultures denude the bones, which are then removed, and mysteriously disposed of. The houses of the European families at Bombay are described as of a superior order, in regard to interior embellishment, to those of Calcutta ; the greater part having handsome ceilings, and the doorways and windows being decorated with mouldings, and, in other respects, better fitted up and furnished. The portion of the town formerly denominated the "Black Town," but now known as the Bona Bazaar, is a broad street, forming the high-road to the fort. This is the avenue most frequented by Europeans ; and is remarkable for the strange variety and grotesque irregularity of its buildings. Most of the better kind of houses are ascended by a flight of steps, which leads to a sort of verandah, formed by the floor above projecting over it, and supported by wooden pillars, or some sort of framework, in front. In the Parsee houses of this kind, there is usually a niche in the lower storey for a lamp, which is kept always burning. The higher classes of natives have adopted European equipages, and associate much with the corresponding ranks of English society.

There is much variety of heat and cold in the different seasons at Bombay. The dry season is the most uniform, and extends from October to June. The cold period sets in early in November, and continues to the beginning of March, when the heat gains strength again, and prevails until about the third week in May, when the uniform brightness of the sky begins to be interrupted. About the 6th of June, sudden blasts and squalls ensue, and the rain descends in an unbroken sheet of water. The first fall usually commences at night, and continues for thirty or forty hours ; and then, not only are

the contents of spouts from the house-eaves rushing down in absolute cataracts, but every water-channel overflows with an impetuous torrent. The streets and level grounds are flooded for miles. The entire duration of the south-west monsoon is nearly four months. From June to the end of September, the hills are shrouded by thick, black, impenetrable clouds, out of which the rain pours without intermission. It would be difficult for a European not having been in India, to imagine the interruption which the rains occasion to general intercourse throughout the greater part of the country during the three rainy months. Originating in the mountain-ranges, the streams which flow through the level lands, and ultimately, in many instances, form vast rivers, will often rise and fall from ten to fifteen feet perpendicularly in the course of twenty-four hours; and five-and-twenty feet are not an unusual variation between the fair and wet weather elevations.

The population of the island of Bombay has been estimated at 222,000 persons, and it continues to increase. The insurrectionary storm that troubled Bengal and the north-west, once only affected the capital of the presidency of Bombay: but the province itself was partially infected by the taint of rebellion; and during the months of June and July, 1857, symptoms appeared at Kolapore, Poona, and in various other quarters to the north, south, and east of the capital, that required careful watching, and, in more than one instance, prompt and vigorous action also, to restrain the growing mischief from overflowing Bombay with its destructive waves.

SIMLA.

THE celebrated and favourite resort of the *élite* of European society from all parts of India, that is known by this name, must be sought for among hills that rise between the Sutlej and the Jumna, below the lower range of the Himalaya; and situated at the north-eastern extremity of Bengal, about 1,112 miles from Calcutta. The spot occupied by this Cheltenham of the East, in one of the most salubrious and picturesque districts of Hindoostan, has risen to its present importance from the accidental circumstance of a military station and sanatorium having been established at a village called Sabathoo, in its immediate vicinity;* followed by the erection of a summer residence for the political agent at Lahore—the site for which was happily selected amidst the delightful scenery of Simla. From its early establishment as a European station, the place has maintained a high repute for its sanitary influences, and it has, consequently, been periodically visited, for the purposes of health and recreation, by successive governors-general, and the superior military and civil authorities of Bengal and the sister presidencies: nor has the church been regardless of its attractions; since the bishops of Calcutta, and other dignitaries of the establishment, have frequently sought to recruit their enfeebled energies among its pure and bracing influences.

As a town or village, the station is built in two distinct divisions, named Simla and Cota (or Minor) Simla; a deep ravine, through which, in the rainy season, an impetuous torrent rushes downward to the plains, separating the two portions, which are, however, connected by a bridge of simple construction, erected in 1828, by Lord Combermere, then the commander-in-chief in India. Previous to the accommodation thus afforded, Simla may be considered as comparatively unknown, there being at the place only two or three houses, and scarcely any practicable road by which to approach them. The interest taken in the prosperity of the infant settlement by the gallant officer, induced him to make it for a time his head-quarters; and to his active interference and influence, Simla indebted for most, if not all, of its early improvements; among the foremost of

* Sabathoo is the only spot in the Himalaya garrisoned by British troops: it has barraeks, a parade-ground on a level area of four or five acres, and all other military requirements. In the winter it is warmer than Simla, its elevation being less by 3,000 feet; and being more quiet and retired, it is preferred by many to the more fashionable locality above it.

which were some excellent roads, broad, safe, and free from any abrupt acclivities. The bridge represented in the accompanying engraving, connects the most important of these, which encircles the hill on which the station is built; another, that stretches to a very considerable distance, is of sufficient breadth and gradient for strangers to ride along with rapidity and safety. Bungalows, or dāk-houses, were also erected at convenient distances, varying from eight to ten miles, for the accommodation of travellers proceeding to the inner ranges of the Himalaya.

The greater number of houses at Simla are built at an elevation that ranges from seven to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. A very considerable portion of these residences have an ornamental appearance; and many of the sites chosen for them are exceedingly beautiful—the summit of a small green knoll, sheltered by a steeper hill at the back, and looking down upon a valley, being usually selected. Every part of this delightful region is magnificently wooded with stately pines, intermingled with larch and cedar, the evergreen oak and the rhododendron, which here grows as high and as thickly foliated as any English forest tree, and bears masses of rich crimson blossoms, whose only fault is that their glowing tints throw too much bright colour into the landscape. Captain Thomas, in some *Descriptive Views of Simla*, published in 1846, writes enthusiastically of the scenery around this mountain retreat. After tracing the route from Umballah (a military station a few miles south-west of the settlement) to the bank of the river Gumbhur, about three miles below it, he says—"From the foot of the ghaut, or pass, which begins its upward course beside the river, the ascent to Simla is steep and tedious: at length, emerging from barren hills, you are suddenly in the midst of forests of oak and walnut, and every variety of pine; and with these, as you proceed, are mingled masses of the crimson rhododendron. Advancing still further, you are again surrounded by pines and cork, intermingled with lesser trees covered with the blossoms of the wild cherry, the pear, the apple, the apricot, the wild rose, and, lastly, to remind you still more forcibly of home, the *may*; while violets cast their perfume around your feet at every step: and in the midst of this profusion of natural loveliness the first full view of Simla bursts upon the delighted traveller. From March, when the sleet and snow may be said to have passed away, to the middle of July, the climate is heavenly. There is nothing like it on earth! Nothing! Nothing in Italy! Nothing in France! Nothing anywhere that I know of. Recall the fairest day, nay hour, of sunshine you have ever known in an English spring, and conceive the beauty and gladness of that sunshine, brightened by continuing without a storm, almost without a shower daily, for months together, and deck the fruit trees and bushes in a thousand English blossoms, and spread violets and daisies, and strawberry blossoms and wild roses, and anemones, thickly over the bright close emerald turf; over crags, amid the pine-roots, and far away down amid the ferns beside the 'runnels,' and you may fancy something of what our Simla spring and too brief summer are. And then, alas, come the rains! From the middle of July to the middle of September you have healthy weather still, but no end to rain; in short, a climate as perfectly English as England is nearly three-parts of the year. From early in September to the end of December, you have a dry, clear, frosty weather, very delicious, and very bracing; and from that time till spring again you may count upon living, like 'the ancient mariner,' in a land of mist and snow; very healthy, certainly, but not agreeable."

Among many delightful spots about Simla, are two picturesquely situated waterfalls about half a mile from each other—the lovely valley of Annadale, covered with pines and walnut-trees; and at about half-a-dozen miles distant, the magnificent forest of Mahassoo. The racecourse of Simla is in the valley of Annadale; and it is remarkable for having a descent, at a sharp turning, of twenty-three yards in 200, with a precipice immediately below it!

An excellent bazaar is established in each division of Simla, well supplied with foreign products, and with provisions in abundance from the plains. A theatre and assembly-rooms offer their attractions to the rich and fashionable visitors to the hills; who, combining benevolence with pleasure, have frequently rendered a sojourn at this place the means of extensive benefit to the surrounding native and other population. Annadale has repeatedly been the scene of festive enjoyment through the medium of fancy fairs, at which large sums have been realised for the establishment of schools for the native children. Simla was chosen, on account of its position, as one of the Indian stations

for carrying on some recent important magnetical observations under the auspices of government. The first fire insurance company ever established on the Bengal side of India was formed at Simla, but has since been removed to Calcutta.

A singular practice is recorded by Captain Thomas, as prevalent among the natives of the hills in the neighbourhood of Simla; namely, their custom of putting infants to sleep with their heads under running water. This, he observes, "is a strange custom, and yet a very common one; and the traveller to Simla from the plains, may see, any day about sunrise, or from that till noon, half a score of children (*infants of a few days old*), some of them lying asleep under any convenient brook by the road-side: when the brook, flowing over some bank or stone, makes a descent from two to four feet, the water is caused to run through a narrow tube or spout, consisting simply of a long straight piece of the bark of a pine-tree. Beneath this, with its bare skull immediately below the concentrated body of water (whose circumference may measure some four inches, and of whose current the force is, of course, considerably increased by its compression), the infant, while still 'wide awake,' is laid upon a blanket, which, if the mother be *over-careful*, may be secured from thorough saturation by the interposition of a few whisks of the lank coarse grass that commonly fringes either bank. The somnific effects of this chilly application are really incredible. I have seen a child cry at being placed upon its watery bed; and yet, ere it had been there many seconds, it was asleep."*

Several varieties of deer are met with in the neighbourhood of Simla; but the favourite sport of the natives is hog shooting. The tusks of the wild hog of these hills are larger than those of his brethren of the plains; his colour is iron gray, and he is large, fleet, strong, and of indomitable courage, not hesitating to charge even a score of spearmen after he has got a ball or two in him. The hill people, when they go out hog shooting, unshackled by the presence of the English, struggle as hard for the honour of the first ball, as the latter do in the plains for the first spear; and, with them, whoever draws "first blood," is entitled to the boar's head. When the party is numerous, and several shots have been fired, the struggle for this often involves serious contention, and sometimes the effusion of a little human blood. Whenever a wild hog is killed, it is necessary to send a leg of it to the chief of the pergunnah, or, in his absence, to his *locum tenens*. "These," writes Captain Thomas, "are the only *game laws* I have heard of among the hills, and *they* are said to be as old as the hills themselves."

Game is not abundant at Simla, although earnest sportsmen have found it practicable to employ dogs with success; but it is very necessary to keep a vigilant eye upon the canine race about Simla, for the hyena and the leopard are its deadly enemies. The former prowls about at night, and will sometimes, in the dusk of the evening, rush at a solitary dog, and walk off with him with the greatest ease—occasionally carrying one away from the very door of a European dwelling. The leopard will make the attack in open day; and, when pursued, these animals manage to conceal themselves with so much adroitness, as to lead persons to suppose they have taken to earth. A solitary tiger will occasionally struggle up to the neighbourhood of Simla; and the natives, though not distinguished for their bravery, will, on such an emergency, attack him very boldly, and generally succeed in at least driving him off.

The terrible events that convulsed India in the summer of 1857, were not without some unpleasant influences even at the remote station of Simla; and although the sword of the traitor, and the torch of rebellion, did not penetrate its mountain homes, circumstances occurred that, for a brief space, rudely interrupted the agreeable occupations of its society, and changed the abodes of enjoyment into a scene of terror and lamentation. The incidents which led to this sudden interruption of social quiet were as follows:—Early in May, 1857, the then commander-in-chief (General the Hon. George Anson, K.C.B.) was enjoying at Simla a short period of relaxation from the duties of his high command, when the harsh notes of rebellion broke upon the quiet of his retreat, and called him to instant action. The mutiny at Meerut had been succeeded by outrages and revolt at Delhi; and the whole native army of Bengal appeared to be falling from its allegiance, and scattering fire and slaughter among the cities of the plains. At this period, it became necessary to concentrate a European force for the

* Thomas's *Views of Simla*; published in 1846.

recovery of Delhi; and the military station of Umballah was, from its proximity to the commander-in-chief, selected for the purpose. A regiment of Europeans that had hitherto been quartered at Simla, was accordingly moved down to Umballah—their place being supplied by a battalion of Goorkas. It happened, about this time, that a portion of the latter force was under orders to furnish an escort for a siege-train, on its way from Phillour to join the army about to proceed to Delhi, and the men were forbidden to take their families with them—an arrangement in the highest degree offensive to the sensitive and jealous mountaineers. In addition to this grievance, they were further offended by having the charge of the treasury and other important posts transferred from their hands to those of the armed police; and having represented these causes of discontent to their officers, the men, one and all, declared their intention not to move from the station until the offensive orders were rescinded. After some parley, this was done by order of the commander-in-chief, and the men returned to their duty.

But, in the meanwhile, rumour, with her "thousand tongues," had proclaimed throughout the settlement, that the Goorkas were in a state of open mutiny, and that Simla was about to become a scene of carnage and desolation. A panic instantly robbed age of its prudence, and manhood of its valour. The European residents, many of them men holding high public appointments, waited not to learn if any grounds existed for the report, but sought, in hasty and undignified flight, for a chance of escape from the imaginary dangers that menaced them. Some of these fugitives, who had but a day or two previously affixed their signatures to a requisition for enrolling a volunteer corps for the defence of the station, were the first to show an example of pusillanimity, and fled down the khuds (ravines), leaving women and children to their fate in the hands of the Goorkas—whatever that might be. The consternation became general; and its effects were speedily contagious throughout the European circle. Old and young—the healthy and the sick—hysterical ladies and "strong-minded" women—screaming children and terror-stricken nurses—half-clad, and ill-provided for exposure to the weather, rushed down the rough and precipitous bye-paths of the ravine, hoping, in its depths and recesses, to find shelter from the murderous knives of the terrible Goorkas. Property of all kind was abandoned to the mercy of the native servants; homes were deserted; households rudely scattered: only one thing seemed worthy of preservation, and that was clung to with a tenacity that enabled the fugitives to endure every hardship and inconvenience so that life might be secure. Of the *haut ton* that had dignified the hills at Simla with its presence, there were many individuals of both sexes that, but the day before, would have felt indignant at the supposition of so vulgar a possibility as that they could walk a mile; and yet who, in their flight, actually accomplished fifteen and even twenty miles before they could be prevailed upon to halt and look calmly around them. Old men, decrepid with age and tottering with infirmity, became once more young and vigorous, and vied with the most active to be foremost in the general flight; the road from Simla to Dugshaie being, for upwards of twenty-four hours, thronged with terror-stricken fugitives, of all sorts and conditions. "On! on to Dugshaie!" was the cry; "the Goorkas have slaughtered all who were mad enough to remain at Simla, and they are in close pursuit to murder us!" At length the panic died away from sheer exhaustion, since not even the shadow of a Goorka could be seen to keep up the requisite stimulus; and the runaways, by degrees, came to a conclusion that their alarm was groundless. They presently regained sufficient confidence to return to their deserted homes at Simla; but, as might have been expected from the manner of their flight, not a few of their household gods had availed themselves of the opportunity to take flight also.

This sadly derogatory and inexcusable conduct on the part of the male portion of the European community at Simla, subjected the individuals to a galling fire of railleury and sarcasm, which lost none of its force for lack of application. A marked anxiety for self-preservation had been exhibited by several individuals of the sterner sex, without any perceptible care for the protection or comfort of their gentler companions of the ball-room or the ride; and this fact, coupled with a tendency to repeat the unceremonious flight upon a subsequent occasion, when some of them again sought a refuge in the khuds, at length subjected the valiant "light-heels" of Simla to the following

infliction, which appeared in the columns of a local newspaper, and was circulated throughout Bengal :—

“ *Notice.*—On Wednesday, the 15th of July, the *ladies* of Simla will hold a meeting at Rose Castle, for the purpose of consulting about the best measures to be taken for the protection of the *gentlemen*.

“ The ladies beg to inform those who sleep in the khuds, that they sincerely compassionate their sufferings ; and are now preparing pillows for them, stuffed with the *purest white feathers*. Should they feel inclined to attend the meeting, they will then be presented to them. Rest ! warriors, rest !

“ CLEMENTINA BRICKS.”

SHUHUR—JEYPOOR.

THE city of Jeypoor—capital of the Rajpoot state of similar name, one of the central provinces of India—is situated about 150 miles south-west of Delhi, in lat. 26° 56' N., long. 75° 40' E.; and is considered to be one of the handsomest towns in Hindoostan. Spacious streets, lined with magnificent edifices, intersect each other at right angles ; and the palace-fortress of Shuhur, or Umeer, which rises boldly on a steep rocky eminence, and commands the entire place, is encompassed by a line of fortifications four miles in extent, and rich in those picturesque features that occasionally break the level monotony of the plains of Central India. The fortress was considered, by the late Bishop Heber, as not inferior to Windsor Castle ; and it certainly presents an object of feudal grandeur that carries the imagination of the European stranger back to the ages of chivalry and romance. Jeypoor, in addition to its being the chief mart in the north of India for the horses brought from Cabool and Persia, is also a grand emporium for diamonds and other precious gems, which are procured with little trouble or expense in the rocky districts of the principality. The garnets so obtained are particularly beautiful ; and amethysts and other gems sell at comparatively low prices. Occasionally, great bargains may be obtained of the dealers in pearls, as the common prices are much below those demanded in places more remote from the commerce of Persia.

Some historical traditions connected with the fortress of Shuhur are interesting, and strikingly illustrate the political influence that has been retained by females in provinces which have never been thoroughly subjected to the jealous domination of Mogul rulers. The late (or present) sovereign of Jeypoor was a surreptitious child, placed upon the throne wholly by the intrigues of the artful and clever woman who professed to be his mother. She had been a principal favourite of the former rajah, but was childless ; and, at his death, being anxious to preserve to herself the share she had obtained in the government of the country, she imposed upon the chief officers the offspring of one of her domestics, as her own son by the rajah, born in due time after his decease, and consequently heir to the musnud. Aided by the influence of a chief of high rank and popularity, she then contrived to get herself appointed to the regency, with the title of Maha Ranee ; and, as soon afterwards as practicable, she introduced the child at a banquet in the castle of Shuhur, where a large proportion of the nobles of Rajast'han were invited to attend—presenting the infant as the future sovereign of Jeypoor. By this means she secured the recognition of the child as rightful heir to the throne ; inasmuch, as after the nobles had eaten rice with it in that character, the imposture, if ever discovered, would never be made a subject of dispute. The real mother of the infant was a Pariah (or sweeper)—a class held in the utmost abhorrence by the high-born Hindoos, who would have considered themselves polluted if a child of such an outcast race had even touched their garments. Had the true parentage of the infant been revealed at any period subsequent to the feast of recognition, many heads of Rajpoot houses must have shared in the inevitable degradation to which he would have been

subjected; since all who had dipped their hands in the same dish with him, would have lost caste throughout India; and, consequently, if the worst should happen in respect to discovering the imposture, their silence and co-operation were effectually secured. The ascendancy thus gained by the ambitious intrigant at length became irksome to the nobles; but the times were not favourable for resistance to her authority; and the fortunate descendant of the most degraded and despised race among the populations of the East, remained in tranquil possession of the high rank to which he had been elevated by his ambitious patroness, and in due time became the undisturbed rajah of Jeypoor.

HINDOO TEMPLE AT CHANDGOAN.

THE temple represented in the accompanying engraving, is situated in the obscure and otherwise uninteresting village of Chandgoan, in the south-eastern quarter of the Jeypoor territory, and near the direct route from Agra to Kotah, and other places in Central India. Chandgoan occurs in the middle of a stage, and it is therefore rarely but from accident that travellers halt in its neighbourhood, or obtain more than a passing glance of the temple as they journey on. The country round about is tame and sterile, consisting of a series of flat, arid plains, thinly dotted with attenuated trees, which so often fatigue the eye during a journey through the Upper Provinces of Hindoostan.

The temple at Chandgoan is a picturesque and interesting structure, affording a good specimen of Hindoo architecture, unadulterated by foreign innovations. The pointed, mitre-like form of the towers show the antiquity of the edifice; the greater number of Hindoo buildings erected after the settlement of the Mohammedans in the country, having the round domes introduced by the conquerors. The shrines of the deities are placed in these steeple-crowned towers; the part devoted to the religious services of the temple bearing a very inconsiderable proportion to that appropriated for the accommodation of the officiating Brahmins and their various and numerous attendants, including, generally, a troop of nautch, or dancing-girls—the inseparable adjuncts of a large and well-endowed establishment. These young ladies, though dedicated to the service of the temple, are not supposed to be the most immaculate of their sex; but their devotion sanctifies their occupation; and being under the protection of the Brahmins, nautch-women belonging to a temple are not considered impure and degraded, as is the case with such of the sisterhood as have not the honour of priestly protection. Among the poorer classes of the Hindoos, there is no difficulty in finding parents who will readily devote their daughters to the service of their deities, or rather of their priests; and deserted children, who are sometimes adopted from compassionate motives by the Brahmins, are always brought up to assist in religious festivals, and at their sacrifices—the young and most beautiful being generally the first victims of the obscene and degraded ritual.

Among the religious festivals of the Hindoos, there is one especially in honour of Krishna; in which, after the dancing-girls have displayed their charms of art and allurements, a ballet is performed by young and handsome boys, educated for the purpose, who represent the early adventures of the deity during his sojourn in the lower world. These boys are always Brahmins; and the most accomplished corps of them belong to Muttra, a town scarcely inferior to Benares for sanctity and learning. The *corps de ballet*—if they may be so denominated—attached to any Hindoo establishment of high celebrity, travel about during the seasons of particular festivals, and perform at the courts of the native princes. They are always well paid for their exertions, and frequently become a source of great wealth to the temple to which they belong.

Of the history of the temple at Chandgoan, little or nothing is at present known, except that it exists, and that, from its unusual state of good repair, there are evidently

native resources available for the purpose of its preservation. The state in which it is situated is under British protection; but its capital, Jeypoor, has been rarely visited by the Anglo-Indian residents of Hindoostan; and consequently, although it is decidedly the finest town in Rajpootana, it has hitherto attracted but a comparatively small portion of attention.

PERAWA—MALWA.

THE province of Malwa, one of the most elevated regions of Hindoostan, is situated principally between the 22nd and 23rd degrees of north latitude. Perawa, whose ancient fort is the subject of the accompanying plate, is an irregular and meanly built town, about seventy miles distant from Oojein, the original capital of the province. It is a place of little importance—surrounded by a decayed wall of mud and brickwork, so weak and dilapidated as scarcely to oppose a barrier to the incursions of truant cattle. The only building connected with Perawa that is at all worth notice, is the old stone fort represented in the engraving; which, though not boasting much architectural beauty, is in the highest degree picturesque, and affords a fair specimen of edifices of similar character that are frequently met with in the wildest and most remote districts of India. The style of this fortress is partly Mohammedan, and partly Hindoo—the ghaut, with its open pavilions (to the left of the picture), affording a pleasing contrast to the bastioned walls of the citadel. This approach terminates with a gateway, which, although it will not bear comparison with the noble portals of many of the places of arms in other parts of India, is not wholly destitute of artistic merit.

Early in the thirteenth century, Malwa was either entirely conquered, or became otherwise tributary to the Patan sovereigns of Delhi. It was afterwards raised to independence by the Afghans, who fixed their capital at Mandoo. But the state did not long maintain its supremacy, becoming subject to the Moguls, to whose empire it was attached until the death of Aurungzebe. The Mahratta power then obtained the mastery over Malwa; and during a long series of years, its possession was disputed by different chieftains, whose struggles afforded their less formidable neighbours opportunity to invade, plunder, and appropriate every village their armed followers were strong enough to keep in subjection. The unsettled state of provinces thus continually at war with each other, and exposed to outrages of every description, rendered such fortresses as that of Perawa of vital importance to rulers who were frequently dependent upon the protection of their walls for bare existence. Many such were strong enough to resist the ineffective weapons of native warfare; but with the exception of Gwalior, Bhurtpoor, and a few other strongly-fortified places, few could withstand the power of European ordnance; and it was not thought within the limits of probability that the old fort at Perawa would ever reassume the warlike character of its early days.

Some short time after the commencement of the present century, a formidable band of robbers, organised under the name of Pindarries, attracted the notice of the Anglo-Indian government. These men, in the first instance, had composed the mercenary troops attached to the service of the Peishwa, Sindia; and upon his withdrawing from the field, had thrown themselves upon the people for subsistence by pillage. The contributions so gathered from their own and the neighbouring states, soon rendered the occupation popular with idle and depraved men of all castes and religions, who thronged to the banners of the chiefs, and carried on their lawless pursuits with impunity. At length, however, the force became so formidable, and its depredations were so extensive, that the English government felt itself bound to interfere for the protection of the tributary states exposed to their ravages. An army from Bengal was therefore dispatched against the Pindarries; and, after some severe campaigns, succeeded in completely defeating them, and their auxiliaries, at the battle of Mehidpoor, and subsequently took possession of the

whole of their fortresses. The government was then enabled, through Sir John Malcolm, to dictate the terms of a peace, by which it established a subsidiary force in Malwa, and placed the capital, Oojein, and the family of the reigning prince, under its immediate surveillance. Tranquillity was thus restored to, or rather established in, Malwa, which for a long period had known only the transient and fitful repose of hollow truces.

The calm that spread over the country, under the auspices of Sir John Malcolm, was not, however, destined to endure without interruption; and thus, in the progress of the sepoy rebellion of 1857, the towns and villages of Malwa became again the theatres of frightful outrage. The defection of the Gwalior contingent at Indore; the revolt and its associated atrocities at Mhow; and the disorder that prevailed in almost every part of the province, testified to the fact, that the wild and lawless tendencies of the Pindarries had not been entirely discouraged by the people of Malwa, and that the natural disposition of the latter was prone to turbulence, and impatient of wholesome restraint.

Malwa is a fruitful province, its soil consisting chiefly of a black vegetable mould, which, in the rainy season, becomes so soft as to render travelling hardly practicable. On drying, it cracks in all directions; and the fissures in many places along the roads are so wide and deep, that the traveller is exposed to much peril; for a horse getting his foot into one of these openings, not only endangers his own limbs, but the life of his rider also. The quantity of rain that falls in ordinary seasons is so considerable, and the ground so retentive of moisture, that wells are not resorted to for the purpose of irrigation, as in other parts of Hindoostan; and thus a great portion of the labour necessary in some places is saved. But this advantage is counterbalanced by the greater severity of suffering upon a failure of the periodical rains; for the husbandman, accustomed to depend upon the spontaneous bounty of Providence, is with difficulty persuaded to undertake the unusual labour of watering his fields, especially as that operation must be preceded by the toil of well-digging.

The harvest here, as in Hindoostan generally, is divided over two periods; one being in March and April, the other in September and October. From its elevation, Malwa enjoys a temperature favourable to the production of many kinds of fruit that are destroyed by the heat of the Lower Provinces. The most abundant product, however, of the region is opium, which is, from this place, held in great estimation by the Chinese, who consider it more pure than that of any other growth. In some districts the opium is adulterated with oil; but the practice is avowed; and the reason assigned is to prevent the drug from drying. In adulterations that are secret, and considered fraudulent, the leaves of the poppy, dried and powdered, are added to the opium. The poppy, which is sown in November or December, flowers in February; and the opium is extracted in March or April, according to the time of sowing. In thinning a piece of ground under cultivation, the very young plants are used as pot-herbs; but when they attain to a foot and a-half in height, their intoxicating quality renders them highly dangerous for that purpose.

THE KING'S FORT—BOORHANPOOR.

BOORHANPOOR, formerly the capital of the province of Candeish, is situated in lat. 21° 16' N., and long. 76° 18' E., on the north bank of the Taptee river, which rises in the province of Gundwana, and running westward, nearly in a parallel line with the Nerbudda, falls into the Gulf of Cambay at Surat. This beautiful stream, which is fordable during the dry season, laves the walls of the picturesque ruins of the King's Fort, whose time-worn bastions and dilapidated ramparts are mirrored on the tranquil surface of its shining waters.

Boorhanpoor, when under Moslem rule, was a large and flourishing city. Being

founded by a holy person of great repute, it was early chosen as the residence of one of the most powerful chiefs established in the Deccan—Boorhan-ood-deen, who is represented to have been one of those ambitious and daring impostors which Islamism has so often produced since the days of its founder. This chief raised himself to great authority during his lifetime; and, since his death, has been esteemed as a saint. His mausoleum, at Rozah, surpasses in splendour the imperial sepulchre of Aurungzebe; and far greater honours are paid to his memory. Lamps are still kept burning over the venerated dust, and his sarcophagus is canopied by a pall of green velvet—the sacred colour, which indicates that those who are permitted to use it, are either descendants of the prophet, or have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. The precincts of the building are the abode of moollahs, and other pious men, who are in daily attendance at the tomb; and upon great occasions, large nobuts (or drums), which are kept in one of the ante-chambers for the purpose, are beaten by the faithful to commemorate the merits of the deceased saint.

The King's Fort (or Citadel of Boorhanpoor), no longer formidable as a place of arms, is picturesque in its decay. Rising boldly from an elevated bank of the river, it conveys to the spectator an idea of strength which a closer inspection does not warrant: for its vast tenantless courts are cumbered with huge fragments of ruins, and rank vegetation has penetrated to its most secret recesses. Still it is an interesting relic of Moslem grandeur fading before the relentless footsteps of Time; and the deserted chambers and ruined courts cannot be contemplated without a feeling of sadness. The adjoining city is still comparatively populous, and has been considered to be one of the largest and best built in the Deccan. The greater number of the houses are of brick, handsomely ornamented; and many of them are three storeys high: there is also a large chowk (or market-place), and an extensive thoroughfare called the Raj Bazaar. The remains of Mohammedan tomb and mosques in the neighbourhood, show that Boorhanpoor, under its original masters, was an important place. Its principal religious edifice, the Jumma Musjid, still bears substantial evidence of the wealth of its rulers, and is a handsome building of grey marble, crowned with lofty minarets. The followers of Boorhan-ood-deen, by whom this mosque as well as the fort was built, are still very numerous among the resident population, and constitute a peculiar sect known by the denomination of Bohrahs. They are a noble-looking race, and are distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants by a costume, in which is blended that of the place, and also of Arabia, the supposed birthplace of the saint whose precepts they follow. They are men of active habits, and generally of great wealth, acquired in mercantile pursuits. The best houses in the city are occupied by the Bohrahs, and they are celebrated all over India for their commercial probity and enterprise.

After the decline of the Mohammedan empire in Hindoostan, Boorhanpoor and its adjacent territory fell into the hands of the Mahrattas; and these, with the neighbouring fortress of Asseerghur (styled the key of the Deccan), were among the first trophies of the campaigns which, under Lake, Wellesley, and others, ultimately subdued the formidable power which had risen upon the ruin of the Mohammedan states, and threatened to involve the whole of India in a cruel and devastating war.

THE JUMMA MUSJID AND WATER PALACE—MANDOO.

MANDOO is a ruined city of Central India, situated about forty-seven miles south-west from Oojein, and was once the magnificent capital of a district of the same name, between 22° and 23° N. lat. It is now a mass of ruins, almost veiled from sight by jungle, and daily crumbling into fragments. Ancient writers have recorded that it was founded by the Patan sovereign of Malwa—Mohammed Khiljee; and that, within its circuit of thirty-seven miles, abounding with treasures of art, it far surpassed in splendour all the other great cities of Central Hindoostan. Occupying the crest of the Vindhya

mountains, enclosed in every direction by a natural ravine, and a strong interior wall nearly inaccessible, it appears in its prosperity rather to have been a fortified district than a mere city; but after its reduction by the emperor Akber, in 1575, it fell rapidly into decay; and when, some forty years afterwards (1615), it was visited by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to the emperor Jehangeer, the city was much dilapidated, and "Ichabod" appeared already written upon the portals of its temples.

The wide chasm that separates the platform of the mountain on which the city is built, from the neighbouring hills, although a natural formation, has the appearance of an artificial ditch of enormous dimensions. Over it, towards the north, is a broad causeway, which at some seasons forms the only approach to the city, the surrounding ravine being filled with water during the rains. This passage was guarded by three gateways, still nearly entire, placed at a considerable distance from each other—the last being on the summit of the hill, which is ascended by a winding road cut through the rock. The masses of ruined buildings which remain amidst a profusion of vegetation (apparently the unchecked growth of ages), somewhat resemble those of the city of Gour in Bengal, where, also, the forest has intruded upon the courts and halls of palaces. The prevailing style of the architecture that lies scattered around is Afghan; and some of the specimens are among the finest which that splendid race has left in India: the material is chiefly a fine calcareous red stone; but the mausoleum of Hossein Shah, one of the most remarkable relics yet existing, is composed entirely of white marble brought from the banks of the Nerbudda.

The Jumma Musjid at Mandoo is still believed to have once been the finest and largest specimen of the Afghan mosque to be met with amongst the marvellous architecture of an extraordinary people. The remains of a piazza (as shown in the accompanying plate) would indicate that the sacred edifice was enclosed in a quadrangle; and the smallness and perfectly circular form of the cupolas, declare the peculiar characteristics of Afghan architecture: while the wild and desolate aspect of the whole ruin, is exactly correspondent with the state of the city, whose fragments lay scattered around. Adjacent to the remains of the Jumma Musjid are the ruins of a large structure, once the abode of learning, now little more than a silent heap of crumbling stones; the small number of human beings that share the once glorious city with the wild beasts of the forest, being merely a few Hindoo devotees, who are at little pains to defend themselves from the attack of tigers that prowl amongst the ruins, because they believe that death inflicted by one of those animals affords a sure passport to heaven.

Another beautiful relic of Afghan magnificence is presented by the ruins of Tehaz Ka Mahal (or Water Palace), which is erected upon an isthmus that divides two large tanks of water from each other. The situation is exceedingly picturesque; and the calm, quiet beauty of the structure, particularly where reflected from the glassy surface of the water that stretches itself on either side, affords an object of delightful though pensive contemplation to the traveller before whom the interesting ruin is suddenly unveiled.

The decay of Mandoo commenced, as already observed, more than a century before Malwa became tributary to the Anglo-Indian government. For a long period it formed an occasional retreat for a predatory tribe called Bheels, who, having ravaged the surrounding country, established themselves, from time to time, in the fortress of the almost deserted city: these, however, have long since given place to a race of inhabitants scarcely more destructive or ferocious than themselves: the jackal, the vulture, the serpent, and the wolf, are their successors, and, with the tiger and the leopard, make their lairs amid the temples, and bring forth their young in the halls of kings.

In 1792, so little remained of this once celebrated abode of princes, that in the narrative of a tour made by some Europeans between Agra and Oojein, no mention whatever is made of a ruin so remarkable, though the travellers must have crossed the river Chnmbul, almost contiguous to the site of Mandoo. It has of late years, and until the more serious events of the sepoy rebellion gave other occupation to the Europeans in the vicinity, been an occasional object of attraction to the military officers and others stationed at Mhow; who can only have derived a melancholy gratification when wandering amidst the scenes of fallen greatness that are unveiled to them at every step; since the most exuberant and buoyant spirit could scarcely avoid becoming depressed by the solemn stillness and utter desolation that pervades Mandoo.

The doom of Mandoo appears to have long been irrevocably pronounced: its desolation is complete; and, in a few more years, the last vestiges of its pristine glory will have passed away for ever.

THE FORTRESS OF DOWLUTABAD.

TAGARA (Deoghur, or Dowlutabad) is a town and fortress in the dominions of the Nizam—situated upon the road between Ellora and Aurungabad, at the distance of seven miles from the latter city. When the Mohammedans, under Allah-ud-deen, overran this part of the Deccan about the year 1293, Tagara, or Deoghur, was the residence of a powerful Hindoo rajah, who was defeated by the invader—his capital being taken, and plundered of immense riches. In 1306, the city and surrounding district were reduced to permanent subjection by Malek Naib, the Mogul emperor's general; soon after which the emperor Mahommed made an attempt to establish the capital of his empire at Deoghur, the name of which he changed to Dowlutabad. In the endeavour to effect this removal, he almost ruined Delhi, by driving its inhabitants to his new seat of government—a distance of 750 miles from their habitation: the scheme, however, proved abortive, after he had sacrificed some thousands of his wretched subjects in the experiment.

About the year 1595, Dowlutabad came into the possession of Ahmed Nizam Shah; and on the fall of his dynasty, the place was seized by Malek Amber, originally an Abyssinian slave, but then esteemed the ablest general, politician, and financier of the age. The successors of this extraordinary man continued to hold Dowlutabad until 1634, when it was taken by Shah Jehan, who converted the whole district into a soubah of the Mogul empire. The capital was then transferred from Dowlutabad to the neighbouring town or village of Gurka, which becoming the favourite residence of Aurungzebe during his viceroyalty of the Deccan, it received from him the name of Aurungabad. Dowlutabad was subsequently comprehended in the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and was looked upon as the key of the Deccan.

So long as the early Asiatic mode of warfare prevailed, hill fortresses were considered by all races as of great importance; and none could possibly be more so than the rock fort of Dowlutabad, which nature and art had combined to render one of the strongest, as well as the most remarkable of all the places of the kind in Hindoostan. A rocky hill, which in shape has been compared to a compressed bee-hive, rises abruptly from the plain, at about a mile distant from the foot of the range of Ellora, so famed for its excavations, and from which, it has been assumed, the mountain must have been forcibly separated by some convulsion of the earth. The form and size of this isolated eminence were particularly favourable for the exercise of the skill and patience of which Hindoo architects have left so many imperishable monuments. The height of the hill is from five to six hundred feet, and it is about a mile in circumference. The face of the rock has been rendered precipitous by the labour of man, and forms, round the base of the hill, a steep smooth wall, or scarp, of one hundred and fifty feet in height; a wide and deep ditch giving additional security to the already inaccessible defences. Upon crossing the ditch, the ascent is through an excavation in the heart of the rock, which is carried in a most singular manner to the upper works, winding through the intricate recesses and caverns of the hill. The commencement of this subterranean passage is low, and can only be traversed in a stooping position; but after a few paces, it emerges into a lofty vault, illuminated by torches. From this hall, a gallery twelve feet high by twelve feet broad, ascending by a gradual and gentle incline until it approaches the summit of the mountain, conducts the visitor to various halting-places, where there are trap-doors, from which narrow flights of steps lead to the ditch that surrounds the hill. In these subterraneous communications there is no light, except such as is afforded by torches. Several avenues branch off at different elevations from the main passage, towards store vaults, formed by recesses within

the rock ; all of which are protected by massive iron gates. After ascending for a considerable distance, the passage terminates in a cavity about twenty feet square, having at the upper end a circular opening of about five feet diameter, through which the remainder of the ascent must be accomplished. This aperture is protected by a large iron plate, which can be laid over it in case an enemy should penetrate so far up the mountain ; when a large fire would be kindled, and, by means of holes for directing a current of flame in the proper direction, the heat of the furnace would have the effect of suffocating an approaching enemy in the subterraneous passages.

Upon emerging from the bowels of the mountain, the road becomes steep and narrow ; the ground is in many places covered with brushwood, and several buildings are scattered over it. The house of the governor is large and handsome ; and, from the flag-staff, the view is extensive and beautiful. On the extreme apex of the hill, a large brass gun has been placed, for the purpose of salutes or signals. The difficulty of the undertaking is said to have been immense, and was only overcome by the persevering assiduity of an engineer, who, on promise of being allowed to return to his own home, suffered no obstacle to relax his efforts, and, after numerous trials, at last accomplished his object.

The suspicion inherent to Asiatic rulers, rendered the post of honour conferred upon the officer entrusted with the command of Dowlutabad, one of discomfort and danger. His family were compulsorily detained as hostages at Hyderabad, and, upon the least appearance of irregularity, were dependent upon the caprice of the sovereign for life. Under the Mogul emperors, Akber and Jehangeer, no one was suffered to retain the important and dangerous command for more than three years ; and many of the governors fell victims to the awakened suspicions of their masters even before that brief term of authority had expired.

Dowlutabad is almost wholly destitute of ordnance ; and under the present system of military operations, has lost much of its original importance : it does not command any road, pass, or country, and is now chiefly interesting as affording a very remarkable specimen of a hill fortress in Hindoostan.

THE TOMB OF AURUNGZEBE—ROZAH.

ROZAH is a small town in the province of Aurungabad, and about fourteen miles from the city which gives its name to the district : standing upon a highly elevated tract of table-land, the summit of a hill-pass between Dowlutabad and Ellora, it commands a very beautiful and extensive view. Aurungabad appears in the distance ; and that bold, abrupt conical mound, Dowlutabad, the pyramidal wonder of the scene, crowned with a bristling rampart, and deeply scarped at its base—the most singular of the hill fortresses of India—forms a conspicuous object from the elevated platform on which the sepulchral town of Rozah has been built. The place is approached by a well-paved causeway twenty feet wide, and is surrounded by a wall constructed with great solidity : it contains numerous vestiges of its original magnificence, as the resting-place of the last mighty emperor of the Mogul dynasty ; but the sculptured walls of the palaces of the Omrahs, which, in the days of Mogul glory, here reared their proud pinnacles to heaven, are now fast verging to the last stages of decay.

Rozah being the royal burial-place during the period in which Aurungabad formed the capital of the Mogul empire, it is thickly strewn with tombs of great and pious men ; and it is probable, in the first instance, that from its already possessing the mausoleums of many reputed saints, a monarch who professed to feel the strongest zeal for the cause of Mohammedanism, was induced to select it for the place of his own sepulture ; and thus the tomb of the last of the imperial descendants of Tamerlane, who maintained the ancestral glory bequeathed to them by that mighty conqueror, stands within the same enclo-

sure in which the remains of a Moslem saint are deposited: but the mausoleum of Boorhan-ood-deen eclipses in splendour that of the arbiter of the hundred thrones of Hindoostan, while his memory is yet far more highly revered.

Aurungzebe's tomb, though picturesque, has little claim to grandeur or even elegance. The monarch's taste and liberality have been called in question by those who suppose it to have been his own work; but as he always displayed great plainness, and even simplicity, in his personal appearance, if he actually was himself the architect of his own monument, it was only in keeping with the character he desired to maintain.

The marble sarcophagus containing the ashes of the last of the conquering Moguls, is covered with a paltry canopy of wood, which has long presented a wretchedly dilapidated appearance; lamps are no longer lighted before it, and the utmost neglect is visible in every part. Some of the monarch's family also repose in the same enclosure; but the place would scarcely repay a visit, except as it is associated with the memory of one whose unenviable greatness has rendered his name an historical *souvenir*, alike suggestive of admiration and of horror.

Upon attaining the summit of his ambition through treachery and parricide, Aurungzebe rendered his imperial sway acceptable to the people whom he governed; but his public virtues were obscured by the atrocities of his private life, his filial impiety, and the cruel persecution of his more popular brothers. Though enduring the monarch who ruled with wisdom and moderation, the vast multitude, while readily yielding obedience to laws justly administered, detested the man; and thus, notwithstanding the reputation for sanctity which he strove to acquire, the emperor remained uncanonised; and, while his relics were carelessly resigned to the care of a few of the most indigent of the priesthood, incense is burned, and flowers are still strewed, before the neighbouring shrine of a comparatively unimportant individual. The emperor Aurungzebe died at Ahmednuggur—the capital of one of the sovereignties of the Deccan—in February, 1707; having entered upon the fiftieth year of his reign, and the eighty-ninth of his age.

A passage in his farewell letter to his sons, exhibits, in disconnected sentences, the utter inefficiency of earthly power to still the voice of conscience, when the portals of the tomb are about to open before frail mortality. "Wherever I look," writes the dying emperor, "I see nothing but darkness—I know nothing of myself—what I am—and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. Wherever I look I see nothing but darkness! I have committed many crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Farewell! farewell! farewell!" The will of this monarch contained directions for his funeral, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum "equal in value to ten shillings, saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold; and 805 rupees, gained by copying the Koran, were to be distributed among the poor."* It may be, the parsimonious directions of Aurungzebe in regard to his burial, had some influence upon the feeling that afterwards consigned his tomb to neglect and uncared-for dilapidation.

SASSOOR—IN THE DECCAN.

THE valley of Sassoor, in the Deccan, situated a few miles to the south-east of Poona, is a sort of oasis in the desert; its splendid architectural treasures, cool, transparent waters, and luxuriant foliage, contrasting most beautifully with the country that surrounds it, which is singularly barren and unattractive. The most secluded and remote districts in India frequently display to the astonished eyes of the European traveller, scenes of beauty and splendour which, if situated in any other part of the world, would attract crowds of tourists to the spot; and the surprise of a traveller proceeding through a tract

* *Vide* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 551.

of country divested of any peculiar claims upon his admiration, may be easily conceived, when a scene like that represented in the engraving is suddenly unveiled before him, as is the case on reaching Sassoor, on the way from Poona to Bejapoor. In this valley of enchantment, splendid ghauts, shrines, and temples, are erected at the confluence of two streams—a circumstance which, in the eyes of an Hindoo, always invests the spot in which it occurs with peculiar sanctity. The junction, in this instance, takes place near the fortified hill of Porhundhur, to the south-east of Poona. The principal temple observed in the engraving, is dedicated to Mahadeo, and is surrounded by several shrines, sepulchral erections, and memorials of *suttee*—for the celebration of which inhuman rite this beautiful valley was once notorious. Very few Hindoo castes bury their dead; but, in many instances, after immolation of the corpse with the living victim of a cruel law, the ashes are collected and preserved in edifices prepared for their reception. Of such records of human sacrifices upon the funeral pile of a deceased husband, there are many specimens at Sassoor; the practice being esteemed so honourable, that it is generally commemorated. To the right of the magnificent temple, with its singularly formed domes and spiral terminations, is a lofty and massive wall, enclosing the palace of one of the great Brahmin family of Porundhurree, whose fortunes, for more than half a century, were intimately connected with those of the Peishwas of the Deccan. Like other buildings of similar importance, this palace is strongly fortified; and, in the war of 1818, against Bajee Rao, its garrison held out for ten days against a division of the British army.

The neighbouring town of Sassoor contains a considerable number of substantial brick and stone buildings; and the adjacent fortress of Porhundhur commands a very extensive view over the valley, which is richly cultivated, being watered by fertilising streams that, in India, are so highly valued as to become objects of veneration. To this feeling may be attributed the beautiful pagodas, and other erections, which rise upon their banks, and afford, with their accompanying ghauts, opportunities for recreation and enjoyment to the inhabitants, and of rest and refreshment to the wayfarer.

In the engraving, the usual idlers at an Indian ghaut are seen bathing, praying, gossiping, or drawing water, together with the ever-present gosa, iri (a saint or holy person),* who may be distinguished in the stream by the drapery thrown over his right arm. Looking beyond the ghaut, in the direction of some distant towers seen through the trees, is the small camp of a European party resting on their journey; and, in the foreground (to the right of the picture) is a native equipage used by females of rank, called a rhat, or rheta. The vehicle is surmounted by a canopy of fine scarlet cloth, ornamented at the top with a golden pine-apple. Such carriages are usually drawn by two bullocks of the purest white; and two Mahratta horsemen, armed with their long and tapering spears, form the escort of the veiled beauties, enshrined within the ample folds of drapery that fall from the canopy.

TOMBS OF THE KINGS—GOLCONDA.

GOLCONDA, a city once celebrated throughout the world for the mines of diamonds in its vicinity (now long since worked to exhaustion), is situated on a hill, six miles west of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions, in lat. $17^{\circ} 15' N.$, and long. $78^{\circ} 32' E.$ Golconda has been repeatedly the capital of an extensive kingdom: first under native Hindoo princes, and afterwards, for many years, under one or other of the independent Mohammedan sovereignties, which ultimately were subdued by the emperor Aurungzebe, who, by uniting the whole empire in his own person, bequeathed so vast and unwieldy a territory to his descendants, that it was broken in pieces and lost. Conquered at an

* "According to tradition, the ardour of devotion attained by these Mohammedan saints is such, that their heads and limbs fall from their bodies, in the last act of worship."—*Forbes*.

early period by the followers of the prophet, the Deccan became the seat of several successive dynasties; but it would be impossible, in a brief notice like the present, to trace the devious fortunes of the successive adventurers that, from time to time, have held supreme power in this the diamond-throned capital of the most potent of Asiatic sovereigns.

In the vicinity of the city is the fortress of Nulgonda, which crowns the summit of a conical hill, about six miles W.N.W. from Hyderabad. Into this fortress—so strong by nature and art, that it is believed by the natives to be impregnable—no European had been admitted until within a very recent period; but the principal inhabitants and bankers of Hyderabad were suffered by the Nizam to have residences within the fort, to which they retire with their money and other treasure on any occasion of alarm.

The magnificent buildings represented in the engraving, are tombs of the kings of the Kootb Shah dynasty, which was founded at Golconda about A.D. 1512, by a Turcoman soldier named Kooli Kootb, who came from Hamadan, in Persia, in quest of military service—entered the guards of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan, was promoted, and, on the dissolution of the monarchy, held sway over Telingana, which he retained until his death in 1543, making Golconda his capital. The most ancient of these tombs is the mausoleum of the founder, Kooli Kootb; which was built above 300 years ago—the remainder being erected at intervals during about 150 years subsequently, which gives the date of the last erection. The tombs of the kings are spread over a wide plain on the north side of the city, about 600 yards from the fort; and many of them still present very splendid specimens of the Saracenic style of architecture that has since spread over the civilised world, and effected so much for the ornamentation of the great cities of Europe. The form of the tomb of Kooli Kootb is quadrangular, crowned by a dome—the basement resting upon a spacious terrace, approached by flights of steps, and surrounded by an arcade, each face of which presents an equal number of pointed arches surmounted by a rich and lofty balustrade, with a minaret at each angle. Above the arcade the body of the building rises in the larger tombs about thirty feet, the four faces being ornamented in stucco, and supporting a balustrade and minarets, smaller and more simple than those on the arcade. From the centre of this portion of the building springs the dome, which, by its magnitude, forms the principal feature of the design. It swells considerably as it rises, the largest diameter being about one-third of the entire height. The lower portion of these edifices is composed of grey granite, very finely wrought; the upper storey being coated with stucco or chunam: some are ornamented by the porcelain tiles generally used in Mohammedan buildings. These decorations are, in several of the tombs, disposed in a kind of mosaic work, and still retain the brilliancy of their colours undiminished. Extracts from the Koran frequently occur as ornaments to the cornices—executed in white letters upon a blue polished surface; all in good preservation, and producing a fine effect.

The body of Kooli Kootb Shah (assassinated in his ninetieth year, at the instigation of his second son Jamsheed, who, having already put out the eyes of his elder brother, then ascended the throne) is deposited in a crypt, under a ponderous slab of plain black granite; and immediately over it, in the principal apartment of the tomb, a highly ornamented sarcophagus indicates the spot where the remains of the ferocious conqueror of Nulgonda were left to their last repose. The circumstances connected with the capture of the hill fort of Nulgonda, were as follow:—Having repeatedly, but vainly, attempted to carry the fort by storm, the Sultan Kooli Kootb Shah at length sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Rajah Hari Chandra, promising to withdraw the troops if he would consent to become tributary to Golconda; but threatening, in the event of refusal, to procure reinforcements, destroy the neighbouring towns, and devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies, in which case he would not spare the life even of an infant in the garrison. The rajah, hopeless of being able to resist the power of the sultan, yielded consent; and the latter, upon being assured of his submission, remarked, that as Nulgonda was the only hill fort which had successfully resisted him, he should like to see it, and therefore desired to be allowed to enter with a few attendants. The request being granted, Kooli instructed his body-guard (whom, to disarm suspicion, he had left in the town below) how to act, and ascended the hill with four chosen soldiers completely armed. On entering the gateway, he drew his sword

and cut down one sentinel; while his companions, attacking the others, held possession until their comrades came rushing up to their assistance; and the whole of his army soon poured into the fortress. Neither man, woman, or child was spared on this occasion; and the rajah, thus taken by surprise, on being made prisoner, was for some time kept confined in an iron cage, and was eventually put to death by his treacherous enemy.

In some of the tombs of the royal descendants of this founder of a line of kings, the dome forms the roof of the principal chambers; but in others, it is separated by a ceiling stretching over the whole quadrangle. According to the usual custom in such buildings, there is a mosque attached to each; and formerly the whole was surrounded by pleasure-grounds, well planted with trees and flowers, and watered by fountains. These beautiful accessories have long since disappeared, together with much of the interior decorations of the buildings—such as the rich carpets that covered the floors, and the magnificent draperies once thrown over the sarcophagi that still remain to indicate the spot in which the bodies of the dead were deposited. The large tomb on the left of the engraving, was erected over the corpse of a female ruler, Hyat Begum; whose father, having no male issue, bequeathed his kingdom to the husband of his daughter; and upon the death of the latter, her grateful consort had her here interred among the kings of her race.

THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT HYDERABAD.

HYDERABAD, the capital city of a province similarly named, in the dominions of the Nizam of the Deccan, is the seat of his government, and is situated in lat. 17° 15' N., long. 78° 42' E., on the banks of the river Musah, a stream of inconsiderable note, except in the rainy season, when it is augmented by the floods from the hills. The city was originally founded by Mohammed Kooli, the fifth of the Kootb Shah kings, who began to reign in 1580. He removed the seat of government from Golconda to a site in the vicinity, where he built a magnificent city, called Bhagnuggur, in honour of Bhagmuttee, his favourite mistress—a public singer, for whom 1,000 cavalry were assigned as an escort. After her death, the name was changed to Hyderabad, by which it has since been distinguished by the Mohammedans, although the Hindoos still call it by its original appellation, “Bhagnuggur.” The place was taken and plundered by the armies of the emperor Aurungzebe in 1687—the principal inhabitants escaping the violence of his soldiers by taking shelter in the neighbouring fortress of Golconda.

The city is encompassed by a wall of stone, of sufficient strength to resist the attacks of cavalry; and within this enclosure, the buildings and streets extend about four miles in one direction, and three in another. Most of the houses are but of one storey in height, and are built of slight materials. The streets, as in most Indian towns, are very narrow; but having long been the principal Mohammedan station in the Deccan, it contains an unusual number of mosques, some of which are very handsome. The Nizam, who here maintains some semblance of Oriental pomp, has large magazines at Hyderabad; in which have been deposited, through successive reigns, the costly presents received from European sovereigns. The population of the city, including the suburbs, is estimated at about 120,000 persons. A handsome bridge, sufficiently broad to allow two carriages to pass, crosses the river Musah; and about a mile westward from the city is a large tank, said to cover a space of 10,000 acres.

The magnificent building represented in the accompanying plate, was erected for the accommodation of the British resident at the court of the Nizam, by a former ruler of the territory. The original plan was designed, and the progress of the works superintended, by a young officer of the Madras engineers—a branch of the service which has chiefly supplied the architects of the European community in India. The *façade* shown in the engraving, is the south or back front, looking towards the city, from which it is separated by the river. The front towards the north is erected in a corresponding style of ele-

gance, being adorned with a spacious Corinthian portico of six columns. The house to the right, standing immediately above the bank of the river, is occupied by the officer commanding the resident's body-guard; and the whole landscape, with its fine accompaniments of wood and water, affords a magnificent and striking scene, scarcely less imposing than that which is presented by the government-house at Calcutta. The artist has seized the occasion presented by one of the visits of ceremony, that were formerly frequent between the Nizam and the British resident at his court, to introduce one of the picturesque cavalcades which form the splendid pageants of the East. The covered ambarry—a vehicle usually of silver or gold, canopied with gold brocade, which surmounts the back of the foremost elephant—is an emblem of royalty none except sovereign princes are permitted to use. The second elephant bears the common native howdah, which is often formed of solid silver, or of wood covered with silver plates, and is the conveyance used by nobles and persons of high rank. There is room in front for two persons, and a seat behind for an attendant, who, upon ordinary occasions, carries an umbrella; but in the presence of monarchy, no person of inferior rank is permitted to interpose any screen between the sun and his devoted head. The British resident, as the representative of his sovereign, has a right to a seat in the ambarry; and it is the etiquette upon state occasions, for the prince who desires to testify his respect for the government with which he is in alliance, to invite the party he desires to honour, to a seat upon his own elephant.

The court of Hyderabad is still kept up with great splendour, and there is more of the ancient ceremonial retained than is usual in the present depressed state of the native princes. The Omrahs are men of considerable wealth; and there has long been an increasing demand for foreign luxuries and elegancies at the capital of the Deccan.

BEJAPPOOR.

THIS ruined city, which is left almost alone to commemorate the short but splendid reign of the Adil Shahee dynasty, has been styled, by Sir John Mackintosh, "the Palmyra of the Deccan." It contains the relics of an immense number of buildings, not less interesting than magnificent, which arose and were finished within two centuries, and which, despite of the desolation which has fallen upon them, still retain a considerable portion of their original beauty, many having yet been scarcely injured by the lapse of time, the utter abandonment of man, or the strife of the elements. On approaching from the north, the great dome of Mohammed Shah's tomb first attracts the eye, it being visible from the village of Kunnoor at the distance of fourteen miles; and in drawing nearer, other cupolas, towers, and pinnacles spring up so thickly and continuously, that it is impossible to avoid the idea of approaching a populous and still flourishing capital. The road to the outer wall, it is true, leads through a long vista of ruined edifices; but this is no uncommon circumstance in the environs of Indian cities; and the impression is not dispelled until the traveller actually finds himself in the streets, many of which are so choked with jungle as to be impassable. Bejapoor is now a city of tombs and ruins; and travellers wandering through its noiseless solitudes, have remarked the melancholy contrast afforded by the admirable state of repair which distinguishes those edifices reared in honour of the dead, with the utter decay and desolation of the houses formerly inhabited by the living residents of the city.

The magnificent remains of the ancient capital of the province of Bejapoor are to be found in lat. $17^{\circ} 9' N.$, long. $75^{\circ} 42' E.$, and about 245 miles S.E. from Bombay. The origin of the city—which, on its foundation, was designated Vijaya-pura, the "Impregnable"—is, like that of most of the cities of India, somewhat obscure; but its alleged founder (who was also the founder of the Adil Shahee dynasty, which arose from obscurity in 1489) was Yusuf Adil Shah, who reigned from that date until 1510. This personage is said to have been a son of the Ottoman emperor Amurah, at whose death

he escaped destruction by the contrivance of his mother, who had him conveyed to Persia, from whence, at the age of sixteen, he was compelled to fly, through suspicions which had been awakened with regard to his birth. In his effort to escape the pursuit of his enemies the prince was captured, and afterwards sold at the Bahmani court (a kingdom of the Deccan) as a Georgian slave. From this ignoble position he rose, according to the practice of Mamaluke adventurers, until, by favour of his patron, he became the governor of Bejapoor; and then, taking advantage of the death of his sovereign, by an act of flagrant disloyalty, for which the age and country afforded him abundance of precedent, he seized the first opportunity to declare himself an independent prince. From that moment he became occupied in hostilities with the chiefs around his usurped dominions; who, like himself, were endeavouring to exalt themselves upon the disjointed fragments of a once powerful state. After a time he succeeded in forming alliances with the new rulers of Ahmednuggur and Berar, by which their mutual aggressions were recognised, and their several kingdoms strengthened by a confederacy for mutual defence.

Notwithstanding the internal troubles and foreign wars in which the successors of Yusuf Adil Shah were constantly engaged throughout the whole period of their rule, they have severally left behind them works that would seem to require a protracted interval of the most profound peace to accomplish. There is at the present time scarcely a city throughout India which can exhibit erections of so much original beauty and utility as Bejapoor. The mosques and tombs of the shahs are numerous and magnificent even in decay; and the aqueducts remaining are extensive, and even superb in design. There are, also, innumerable fountains, wells, tanks, and bowlees (ponds)—for which the city was indebted to the magnificence of the shahs—still spread over the place, and bearing testimony of their regard for the comfort of the people and the adornment of their capital.

In 1689, Bejapoor was seized by Aurungzebe, at which period it covered an extensive area—its fort alone being eight miles in circumference. Between the fort and the city wall there was sufficient space for an encampment of 50,000 cavalry. Within the citadel was the king's palace, with numerous mosques, gardens, residences of the nobility, magazines, &c.; and around the whole was a deep ditch always well supplied with water. Beyond the city walls were large suburbs with noble buildings; and native historians assert that, during its flourishing state, Bejapoor contained 984,000 inhabited houses, and 1,600 mosques. After its capture, the country around became waste to a great distance; and at present, the site of the city and fort presents to view a district composed of ruins, interspersed by several detached towns and villages. Toorvee (or Torway) especially, about a mile and a-half from the western wall, is surrounded by magnificent piles of ruins, amongst which are the tombs of several Mohammedan princes and saints, which are still the resort of devotees.

To Ali Adil Shah, the fifth monarch of his race, the city of Bejapoor was indebted for the aqueducts which still convey water through the streets. The fountains erected by him would alone suffice to perpetuate the greatness of his design for the embellishment of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants. The building represented on the left of the picture, is a portion of the Jumma Musjid, which has hitherto survived the ruin around it in every direction. This superb edifice is also the work of Ali Adil Shah, and is a noble building, having the peculiarity of being entirely open on one side: the mosque is, in fact, composed of rows of arches, forming entrances that stretch along the whole *façade*, fronting a spacious quadrangle enclosed with a cloister or piazza, arched in the same manner as the principal building. A large light dome springs from the centre, and the court beyond is embellished by a reservoir and fountain. The faithful often perform their devotions by the side of this basin, prostrating themselves upon the ground, and touching the pavement many times with their foreheads.

The interior of the Jumma Musjid is very richly ornamented with inscriptions of gold upon *lapis lazuli*. Its entire aspect reminds the spectator of the solemn grandeur of the cathedral structures of Europe: the series of arches which succeed and cross each other, from whatever point of view observed, produce a noble perspective; and the style of ornaments, which are judiciously, though sparingly, distributed over the walls, is in true keeping with the character of the building. A few

poor priests still attend to perform the services of the mosque ; but the outer chambers, formerly appropriated to the accommodation of the moollahs and holy persons belonging to it, are now inhabited by some of the most disreputable classes of Bejapoor society. Occasionally, of late years, a transient gleam of splendour has been imparted to the desolate and romantic city of Bejapoor, by a visit from one or other of the rulers of the presidency of Bombay : and upon one such occasion, some few years since, the honours paid to the governor of Bombay had nearly proved the downfall of the mouldering fragments of architectural grandeur that still embellish and give a charm to the place, many of which were shaken to their foundations by the concussion of air produced by the thunder of artillery.

There were formerly preserved among the curiosities in the fort at Bejapoor, a number of enormously large guns ; but they have gradually been removed, until there is now but one remaining—a piece of ordnance by some said to have been cast by Aurungzebe to commemorate the reduction of the city. There is reason, however, to believe that it is of far more remote origin, as it is an object of veneration to the Hindoos of all castes and sects, who offer to the unseen power lodged in the vast engine of destruction, a homage almost amounting to divine honours. Many fabulous legends are preserved by the natives about this gun, named “Mulk-i-Meidan” (Sovereign of the Plain); which, they assert, became the spoil of Ali Adil Shah, who took it in his war with the king of Ahmednuggur in 1562. According to another version of its history, this splendid piece of ordnance was the workmanship of Chuleby Rhoomy Khan, an officer in the service of Hoossein Nizam Shah at Ahmednuggur ; and the mould in which it was cast is still in existence, but lying neglected in the garden of the tomb of the founder, which has been converted into quarters for an English officer. However this may be, it is certain the weight of the “Sovereign of the Plain” is forty tons ; and it is of correspondent dimensions—so large, in fact, that it has never yet been charged with the quantity of powder which its chamber would contain. The metal of which it is composed is said to have a large portion of silver, and a smaller quantity of gold, mixed with the tin and copper that form its chief materials. It is enriched with inscriptions and devices in the usual florid style of Oriental embellishment, and when struck, emits a clear but somewhat awful sound, similar to that of an enormous bell, which is only endurable at a considerable distance. This mighty voice given forth by a touch, added to the terrible idea of havoc conveyed by the ponderous tube, has doubtless assisted in impressing the natives with a feeling of reverence towards a prodigy of strength and power, which they do not imagine to have been wholly the work of man. Thus they burn incense before it, and decorate it ; and Europeans visiting Bejapoor, have frequently seen, with surprise, the natives advance towards it with joined hands and devotional gestures. At such times flowers are strewn on the bore, and the fore-part of the muzzle is anointed with cinnabar and oil ; while marks, as well as odours of burnt perfumes, plainly indicate that a propitiatory offering has been made to the spirit residing in the warlike shrine. For its calibre, an iron ball of the weight of 2,646 pounds would be required.

A notion is prevalent that vast treasures are concealed among the ruins of this city ; and from the habit of the people of the East in hiding their property in times of danger, it is not improbable that such may be the case.

THE TOMB OF MAHOMED SHAH—BEJAPPOOR.

THE Burra Gumboozie (Great Dome), as it is called by the natives, which surmounts the massive tomb of the most popular monarch of the Adil Shahsee dynasty, forms the principal attraction of a city full of wondrous beauty amidst premature decay. Mahomed Shah was the last independent sovereign of Bejapoor : he succeeded to the throne

in the sixteenth year of his age, and found a large treasury, a country still flourishing, and a well-appointed army, reported to be 280,000 strong.

The taste for architectural splendour and posthumous fame, so remarkably exemplified in the tombs of Hindoostan, is displayed to the fullest extent in the mausoleum of Mahomed Shah, which was constructed in the lifetime of the monarch, and under his own auspices. Though somewhat heavy and cumbrous in its structure, its amazing size, and the symmetry of its proportions, fill the mind with reverential feelings from whatsoever point it is surveyed: whether near or at a distance, its surpassing magnitude reduces all the surrounding objects to comparative insignificance; while its grave and solemn character assimilates very harmoniously with the desolate grandeur of the ruins which it overtops.

The Burra Gumboozee exceeds the dome of St. Paul's in diameter, and is only inferior to that of St. Peter's at Rome. It crowns a stately quadrangular building, consisting of a single hall, 150 feet square, and, including the cupola, upwards of 150 feet in height. There are four octagonal towers, one at each angle—each surmounted by a dome, and containing a spiral staircase, by which the ascent to the roof is made. Although there is more of apparent solidity than elegance in this vast structure, its ornaments are rich and appropriate, and none are introduced that injure its simplicity, or detract from its general character; but, unfortunately, the prodigious weight of the dome, and perhaps the faultiness of the foundation for so vast a structure, have reduced the whole fabric to a state approximating general decay; and an engineer, who visited Bejapoor a short time since, reported, that the primary walls are not only rent in some places through and through, but also in a parallel direction to their faces; so that, in all probability, and at no distant period, the whole will fall in one mighty crash to the ground. The tomb is raised upon a terrace of granite 200 yards square, the lower portion being divided into a labyrinth of gloomy chambers, now for the greater part filled with rubbish, and forming lairs for the wild and ferocious animals that haunt the desolate abode of powerless royalty. The spacious quadrangle in front of the main building is adorned with fountains; and on the western side is a second terrace, leading to a mosque corresponding in form with the mausoleum, but embellished by two slight and elegant minarets, which give grace and lightness to the whole. The sarcophagus of Mahomed Shah is placed upon a raised platform of granite, under a wooden canopy in the centre of the hall: on the right of it are the tombs of his son and daughter-in-law; on the left, those of his wife and daughter, and of a favourite dancing-girl: the whole are now covered with a thick coating of holy earth brought from Mecca, mixed with the dust of sandal-wood; which, although calculated to excite the devout admiration of the true believers in the doctrines of the Koran, by no means enhances the beauty of the monuments. A shrine of solid silver is said to have originally encased the tomb of Mahomed; but this having fallen a prey to the rapacity of the Mahrattas, a covering of humbler materials was substituted. The surrounding walls are embellished with inscriptions from the Koran, in *alto relievo*; the characters being gilded and raised upon a deep-blue ground of enamel, formed by a liquid coating of *lapis lazuli*; the gold ornaments, beautifully interwoven together, and embossed upon this splendid ground, are introduced with great judgment, and produce a very fine effect.

The inhabitants of Bejapoor retain more vivid traditions of the Shah Mahomed than of any of his predecessors: he is represented to have been a prince of amiable character, and to have possessed the virtues most esteemed among Asiatics: he is still extolled for his wisdom, his justice, and, above all, for his munificence. During the whole of his reign he maintained a good understanding with the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan, with whom he corresponded through the medium of the favourite son of the latter, the prince Dara; until the intimacy and confidence which existed between the sovereign of Bejapoor and the latter, excited the jealousy of Aurungzebe, who, independent of his ambitious desire to bring all the Mohammedan kingdoms of India under his own sway, entertained a personal hatred to all who espoused the interests of his brother; and the enmity thus drawn upon Bejapoor was openly displayed by the fratricide at the first convenient opportunity. Mahomed, who died in November, 1656, was succeeded by his son Adil Shah II., a youth of nineteen, who mounted the throne without any complimentary reference or observance of the homage which Aurungzebe professed to claim by right of

a concession from Mahomed Shah. The Mohammedans in the interest of Aurungzebe, thereupon immediately reported that Adil was not a son of the late shah, and that it was incumbent on the emperor to nominate a successor to the throne of Bejapoor. A war ensued, the result of which was the subversion of the independence of the kingdom. "This war," observes the historian, "upon the part of the Moguls, appears to have been more completely destitute of apology than any that is commonly found even in the unprincipled transactions of Asiatic governments." It is recorded, that on the final reduction of Bejapoor, the conqueror received a severe reproof from the lips of his favourite daughter. Boasting of the success with which Providence had crowned his arms in every quarter, and of his having, by the extinction of this sovereignty, accomplished all the objects of his ambition, and subdued and dethroned every powerful king throughout Hindoostan and the Deccan; the begum observed—"Your majesty, it is true, is the conqueror of the world; but you have departed from the wise policy of your illustrious ancestors, who, when they subdued kingdoms, made the possessors of them their subjects and tributaries, and thus became king of kings; while you are only a simple monarch, without royal subjects to pay you homage." Aurungzebe, it is related, was forcibly struck with the justice of this remark, which occasioned him so much mortification, that he expressed his displeasure by an order for the imprisonment of the princess.

PALACE OF THE SEVEN STOREYS—BEJAPOOR.

VERY few Eastern cities have the advantage, in a picturesque sense, of so much variety in the style of their ancient buildings, as is to be met with among the ruined palaces and tombs of Bejapoor; a circumstance which may, probably, be in some measure accounted for by the encouragement given to foreign visitors and *artistes* at the court of its princes, who were themselves of Ottoman descent. For a considerable period, the greater portion of the nobles in attendance upon the kings of Bejapoor, consisted of Persians, Turks, and other Eastern adventurers, who met with a gracious reception, and contributed, by their wealth and magnificence, to enhance the barbaric splendour of the court. Gradually settling down among the native adherents of the sovereign, many of them were doubtless stimulated by the example of the latter to add to the architectural embellishments of the capital, and thus introduced those novelties in the style of Asiatic buildings that are so frequently met with among the existing ruins of the city. Ferishta, the Persian historian, states, that the first sovereign of the Adil Shahee dynasty invited artists from distant lands to assist in the embellishment of his capital-city, and "made them easy under the shade of his bounty;" and it may be fairly assumed, that to the encouragement thus given, the city of Bejapoor owed much of its pristine magnificence.

The beautiful remains of the once splendid palace (represented in the accompanying engraving) are situated within the bounds of the fortified portion of the city. The style of its architecture, which is of a light and graceful character, differs much from that prevailing among the numerous ruins which surround it, and attract the eye in every direction over the vast area now silent as the tomb, but once resounding with the echoes of an immense and busy population.

History appears to be almost silent, and Time itself has preserved but few traditions of the "Palace of the Seven Storeys." That within its walls the gorgeous pageants of Oriental magnificence, as well as the gloomy deeds of Asiatic treachery and revenge have often been enacted, it would be unreasonable to doubt: but the days of its glory and of its guilt have alike passed into the shadowy obscurity of the past, and have left no trace of their existence in the ruined towers and roofless chambers of the desolate palace that, little more than three centuries since, was thronged with the glittering chivalry of an Eastern court.

From a comparison of the Palace of the Seven Storeys with any other of the most important architectural remains at Bejapoor, it has been considered most probable that the edifice was designed for, and used as, the residence of Yusuf Adil Shah (the founder of the monarchy), who reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510, and that it continued to be the palace of his successors, the kings of Bejapoor, until the subversion of the monarchy by the emperor Aurungzebe, in 1656.

An incident in the history of Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king of Bejapoor (A.D. 1535), is probably so far connected with the Palace of the Seven Storeys, as to deserve mention in connection with it. This prince had formed an alliance with Bhoj Turmul (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his own nephew) against Rama Rajah, the regent, and brother-in-law of the murdered sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Turmul, who, in return, paid him down fifty lacs of hoon (a coin equal to eight shillings), or two millions sterling, and promised to acknowledge himself a tributary to the kings of Bejapoor. In carrying out this arrangement, the presence of the traitor, Bhoj Turmul, was necessary at the court of the latter; and he had been received at the palace with the honours due to his pretensions as king of Beejanuggur; where he remained until after the departure of the army intended to support his usurpation. No sooner, however, had the Bejapoor troops left the city, than Rama Rajah, justly incensed at the perfidy of Ibrahim, with whom he had been at peace, assaulted it, and carried fire and sword through its streets and palaces. The king and his *protégé* were constrained to shut themselves up in the Palace of the Seven Storeys, from the lofty towers of which they could behold the devastation they had brought upon the city by their guilty ambition. Mad with rage and despair, in a paroxysm of fury, Ibrahim commanded that all the royal elephants and horses should be blinded, to prevent their being useful to the enemy; and collecting together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed by the princes of his race, he caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; and prepared to collect the gold and other treasures of the palace into a pile, previous to firing the interior, and perishing, with all his court, in the flames, rather than fall into the hands of the incensed rajah. From this extremity he was, however, saved by the accidental return of a portion of his army, just as the attack upon the palace had commenced; and the enemy retired, satisfied with the punishment they had inflicted upon a perfidious ally. Bhoj Turmul, on finding that the unexpected result of his ambition had involved the ruin of the capital of his friend, had no other prospect before him than a cruel death at the hands of one or other of the offended and injured parties; and mistaking the return of the Bejapoor troops to the palace for the approach of those of the hitherto victorious Rama Rajah, he rushed to the upper apartment of the Tower of Seven Storeys, and fixing a sword-blade into the tracery of a pillar, rushed upon it at the moment the palace gates were opened to admit the troops of the king.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, who, with all his faults, possessed the taste and munificent spirit of his race, immediately began to repair and restore the city to somewhat of its former magnificence; but in the midst of his efforts to accomplish that object, he was stricken down by a complication of diseases brought on by extravagant indulgences, which speedily laid him in the tomb—an event, doubtless, accelerated by his conduct to his physicians, several of whom he caused to be trodden to death by elephants, for failing to cure him; whereupon all such of them as could escape, fled for their lives, leaving the tyrant to perish at his leisure. His successor, Ali Shah, inherited, with the taste of his predecessor, his cruelty also; since he greatly improved and beautified the capital, by constructing the wall which surrounded it, and the splendid aqueducts which still convey water through the streets; but, at the same time, having entered into an alliance with Rama Rajah, and united his forces with those of the latter, they jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, according to Ferishta, “laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenada to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Dowlutabad, not a vestige of population was left.”

The numerous vicissitudes to which the city of Bejapoor has been subjected, have suggested the idea that immense treasures, in gold and jewels, are secreted amidst its ruins; and there are persons resident within the walls who are yet willing to give large sums to the local government for the privilege of digging among the foundations. As

yet, the beautiful remains of the Seven-Storied Palace have been preserved from the dangerous operations of the treasure-seekers; though, as the building has already suffered more from the injuries which time and war have brought upon Bejapoor than most of its immediate neighbours, its final ruin has now advanced too far to be arrested.

Of the city generally, it is observed by those who have wandered amidst its ruins, that the freshness and unimpaired strength of many of the buildings are remarkable, when compared with the prevailing character of decay and desolation which, in some parts, exhibit such a wild waste of ruin, that it seems scarcely credible so much destruction could have been effected by man's neglect in the ordinary course of time, but rather that some violent convulsion of nature (of which, however, there is no record extant) must have caused the mighty, terrible, yet partial devastation. This idea is certainly borne out by the numberless beautiful and massive remains which have escaped the fearful havoc, and which, still exhibiting the noblest specimens of Eastern architecture, give promise of almost endless durability. It is observable also, that the remains of the carved work and gilding, still to be found in the interior of the Seven-Storied Palace, have not yet lost their first gloss and brilliancy; while the elaborate ornaments of many of the exterior, retain their minute and exquisite degree of finish wholly unimpaired.

MOSQUE OF MUSTAPHA KHAN—BEJAPOOR.

THIS beautiful edifice stands near the centre of the city, in an open area leading from the principal street. The quadrangle by which it is surrounded is entered by a large massive gateway, under a noble arch. Time, which has been busy with the buildings that lie prostrate on every side, has dealt gently with the mosque of Mustapha Khan, which rears its graceful dome and minarets, almost wholly uninjured amidst the general desolation. This temple, though far inferior in size to the Jumma Musjid, is lofty, and beautifully proportioned; and the external ornaments, though of a less florid character than those of many other structures in its neighbourhood, are chaste and appropriate; while there is something peculiarly elegant in the shape and decorations of the dome. The high, narrow arches that run along the front, and are continued throughout the interior, afford a variety to the ordinary style, and the effect of their perspective is exceedingly pleasing.

Hitherto Bejapoor has only been a place of casual sojourn for amateur tourists, who have satisfied themselves, or have been compelled for want of time to be content, with a hasty and cursory glance at its decaying beauties; while the most diligent among them have left the greater part of the splendours springing up on every side wholly undescribed: and thus, amidst other objects of deep interest, of which there is no authentic history extant, we vainly seek for any detailed account of the mosque of Mustapha Khan, or of the personal history of its founder.

Not far from the outer enclosure of this sacred building, is a small pool of water, which is pointed out to the curious as possessing a high degree of sanctity in the minds of the Hindoos, and which the Moslems, who believe in many of their neighbours' marvels, look upon with some degree of respect. It is milky in its appearance, but perfectly wholesome. No other spring of the kind is found in any part of the neighbourhood; and none may presume to question the truth of the tradition which ascribes it to the piety of a Brahmin, who brought a small quantity of the holy water of the Ganges to this remote spot. Rapidly increasing into the pool that yet spreads its pearly surface to the air, it maintains its distinct character, and affords to the devout believer a miraculous proof of the sanctity of the far-distant and venerated river.

A tomb in the neighbourhood of this mosque, named the Mootee-gil (House of Pearl), in consequence of the pure whiteness and brilliant lustre of the chunam with which it is

lived, has an interesting story recorded of its occupant—a chief of high rank at the court of Ibrahim, who had amassed an enormous quantity of wealth. The reputation of it at length awakened the avaricious propensities of his sovereign, who desired to transfer the treasure to his own coffers, and resorted to a practice common to Eastern despots to accomplish his object. It was determined to bring an accusation of treason against the envied possessor, and upon this plea to seize and appropriate his riches. The plot was deeply laid; but the intended victim, having obtained timely information of his danger, explained to the females of his zenana the predicament in which he stood, and consulted with them upon the best means of avoiding the fatal consequences of his too good fortune.

It happened that the greater part of the chief's coveted acquisitions consisted of valuable pearls, and other ornaments for the zenana; and the faithful and devoted women to whom he had confided his danger, immediately devised a plan, which, though it involved the sacrifice of objects dear to woman's vanity, promised to secure to them a still dearer life. They proposed to break into pieces the pearls which had excited the king's cupidity; and they were accordingly reduced to powder! The destruction of those gems becoming a topic of general notoriety, it was no longer worth while to persecute the owner for the sake of obtaining them. The king, foiled by the stratagem, and not caring to avow his object for oppressing the chief (who was much beloved by the people), ceased further persecution; and his intended victim, though impoverished by the prudent destruction of his treasures, spent the residue of his days in tranquillity, and, at his death, was interred in the Mootee-gil prepared for him—the chuam lining of which was partly composed of the pulverised ornaments of the ladies of his zenana.

TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH—BEJAPPOOR.

ABOUT half a mile to the northward of the city, in the garden of the Twelve Imaums, the Durga of Abou al Muzaffir (as the natives term the majestic tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.) rises with a pomp of architecture exceeding the most sumptuous of the edifices in its neighbourhood. The great and amiable sovereign who sleeps within this noble pile, is represented by Ferishta, his historian and contemporary, as having been one of the brightest ornaments of royalty. His virtues still live in the memory of the people of the Deccan; and, to this day, the ashes of the good and great—the parent, the instructor, and the friend—are visited, with equal reverence and delight, by the Mussulman, the Hindoo, and the Christian traveller.

This splendid mausoleum was built under the direction of Mulick Secunder, or, as he is sometimes called, Mulick Scindal, who is said to have constructed the Taj Bowlee at his own expense. According to report, it was commenced in the reign of Ibrahim, and intended as the tomb of his beloved daughter, Zoran Sultana, who died at the age of six years, and whose infant virtues are commemorated in a Persian inscription upon her tomb. The death of the monarch who planned the design in all its grand and beautiful proportions, took place before it was completed; but he lies interred, surrounded by the members of his family, in the mausoleum of the garden which gave its name to the neighbouring entrance of the city, formerly called the Inaum's, but now known as the Mecca gate of Bejapoor.

The style of Ibrahim Shah's tomb differs entirely from that of the Burra Gumbooze, bearing a stronger resemblance to the generality of the Durgas seen in Hindoostan. It consists of a mosque and mausoleum raised upon the same platform, both of which are represented in the accompanying engraving. The basement of these superb edifices is 130 yards in length, and fifty-two in breadth, rising to the height of fifteen feet, and enclosed by buildings of a single storey, open both from without and within, and intended for the accommodation of travellers, visitors, and the attendants of the palace. The

entrance to the interior quadrangle, which is seen to the right of the plate, is on the north side of the main edifice, and is a lofty and elegant gateway, flanked by tall minarets of exquisite grace and lightness. This portal leads to a handsome flight of steps, and through another gate of a novel construction, up to the raised terrace, on which the mosque and the place of sepulture stand. The sarcophagi of the king and his family are placed in a large hall in the centre of the building. This hall is enclosed by an outer and inner verandah; the first thirteen feet broad and twenty-two feet high; the other twenty feet by thirty, supported by seven arches on each face. The dome above is raised on arches; five in the length of the curtain, and three in the depth. A staircase leads to a flat terrace spreading above the verandah; and from the minarets at each corner, a lofty balustraded wall, richly ornamented, extends on every side: a second balustrade, of similar proportions, a storey higher, forms a spacious balcony round the base of the dome; and it is furnished in the same style of elegance, with corresponding minarets at the angles, differing only from those below in their height, as may be observed in the engraving. The dome is thirty-five feet in diameter; but, unlike that of the Jumma Musjid, it has the shape of a segment of a globe, cut through one-third part of its perpendicular axis. This form is airy and elegant, but would be difficult to execute upon a large scale, owing to the narrow span of its aperture, and the great exterior flexure of the curve which overhangs its base. A column rises from the summit of the dome, surmounted by a crescent.

The simplicity of the central hall, which contains the monumental remains of the king and his family, forms a striking contrast to the splendour of embellishment lavished on the exterior; yet its ornaments are not less effective or worthy of admiration. The apartment is forty feet square and thirty feet high, and the walls are of such finely-grained black granite, as to have been mistaken for marble. The ceiling is particularly fine, the whole roof being formed of the same kind of stone, and, as it is ascertained, without the slightest admixture of timber. It is so constructed that it does not appear to rest upon the main walls of the building, but on a cornice projected from them, so that the area is reduced from forty to twenty-two feet on each side. The roof is quite flat, and richly ornamented, being divided into square compartments, the traverses of which, though of several pieces, look like solid beams; and it excites wonder, that a heavy mass, so disposed, should have existed so many years without the slightest derangement of its parts. The death of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. took place in 1626. His sepulchre, therefore, must be about 232 years old, as the building was commenced in his lifetime, and only occupied twelve years in its erection. The interstices of the stones on the top of the arches in the surrounding verandahs, are filled with lead, and clamped together by ponderous bars of iron, some of which have been wrenched from their places by the destructive Mahrattas, who probably expected to find a rich treasure deposited near them.

The verandahs and walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture, chiefly from the Koran, the whole of which is said to be carved on the several compartments. The inscriptions are raised in *basso-relievo*; and so highly polished as to shine like glass. On the northern side, the letters are given a greater degree of prominence, by being gilt and embossed on a blue enamelled ground, adorned with flowers; and the whole has been compared to the illuminations of an Oriental MS. seen through a magnifying glass, and adding the beauties of sculpture to those of painting. The doors, which are the only specimens of wood-work used in the building, are exceedingly handsome, and were studded with golden bosses; the doorways, on either side, are adorned with a great variety of ornaments beautifully executed; and there are windows on each side of the doors, which are four in number: these, and the arches above, are filled with a singular stone lattice-work of Arabian sentences, instead of the ordinary pattern of similar perforations: the light that they admit, proceeding through the verandah, is not strong; and the whole of the hall is characterised by a gloomy solemnity, in correct keeping with the last resting-place of the illustrious dead, but not usually a feature in Mohammedan sepulchral architecture.

The sarcophagi lie north and south. The first contains the body of Hajee Burra Sahib, the Padshah's mother; next to her, is Taj Sultana, his queen; thirdly, the king himself: on his left, Zoran Sultana, the beloved daughter to whom the building was

originally dedicated. Borau Shah, the youngest son of Ibrahim, lies interred by the side of this lamented princess; and beyond, at the farthest extremity, Shah Jaslah, the monarch's eldest son. The canopies over these tombs, on which Moslems usually expend lavish sums, are of tattered silk, scarcely retaining a vestige of their original magnificence—a circumstance accounted for by the small number and the distressed condition of the followers of the prophet in the neighbourhood.

The gallery on the verandah which surrounds this hall, is remarkable on account of its stone roof, which is most tastefully sculptured. It is divided into compartments, oblong and square, 144 in number, very few of which have the same ornaments. Each division is formed of a single stone, and exhibits an elegant combination of arabesques in flowers and wreaths, in those fanciful and spirited designs in which Indian artists excel, and which are of so truly oriental a character. Imagination has here shown how rich and exhaustless are its stores; and these excellent delineations are executed with the same masterly power exhibited in the grouping and combination of the endless variety of interwoven garlands. One of the cross-stones which support the roof of the verandah on the north face, was struck by a cannon-ball during the last siege of Bejapoor. The shot was said to have been fired from the Mulk-e-Meidan before mentioned;* which may not be improbable, as the mausoleum lies within the range of that extraordinary piece of ordnance. The stone, though split at both ends, and hanging only by the pressure of a single arch against the lower part of the splinter, which holds fast in the cornice, has remained in that position since the year 1685, without any perceptible alteration.

The mosque, which fronts this splendid mausoleum at a distance of forty yards, having a piece of water and a fountain between, is a plain building, 115 feet by 76, crowned with a dome, and flanked at the angles of each storey with slender and lofty minarets. The stones of both these buildings are so neatly put together, that it is scarcely possible to perceive where they are joined; and the whole pile, notwithstanding the absence of the white marble, which adds such brilliant relief to the mausoleums of Hindoostan, may vie in magnificence with the most celebrated shrines of Eastern monarchs.

The attendants at the tomb of Ibrahim Padshah II. are poor, and few in number, owing the income allotted for their maintenance entirely to the bounty of the rulers of the city. About 3,500 rupees are annually distributed, from the revenues of the district, among the Mohammedan attendants at the different shrines and mosques; and they have no other means of subsistence, except at the hands of charity. Such, now, are the only courtiers of the once mighty sovereign of Bejapoor, Ibrahim Padshah.

TAJ BOWLEE—BEJAPOOR.

THE fine reservoir of water, Taj Bowlee (or Crown of Ponds), delineated in the engraving, is situated under the walls of Bejapoor, at a short distance from the gate of the Imaums, towards Mecca, and is said to have been the work of Mulick Scindal, the favourite architect and friend of the Sultan Mahmoud, the most popular of the Adil Shahee race of kings; and who signalled his gratitude for the favours conferred upon him by his sovereign, by the formation of one of the most splendid tanks which can be found in this part of India. The pond, or bowlee, as it is called, is nearly a hundred yards square, and is fifty feet deep, surrounded, on three sides, by a colonnade with a gallery above: on the fourth, the entrance is through a magnificent gateway flanked by handsome wings, expressly built for the accommodation of travellers. The water is kept very pure by the few natives who inhabit the vicinity; and though sometimes polluted by contact with Christian bathers, the European visitors usually desist from that mode of annoyance when remonstrated with on the subject.

At a short distance from the Taj Bowlee, there is another very interesting building,

* See *ante*, p. 94.

consisting of a mosque and gateway, called the Maitree Kujoos. It is small, but elegant in its design, and elaborately finished: the material is a fine, closely-grained black stone, capable of receiving a high polish. The building is three storeys in height; and from the angles are attached an embellishment not uncommon in India, consisting of massive stone chains, cut out of solid blocks, there being no joinings perceptible in the links. A tradition connected with this mosque is worthy repetition, and is as follows:—Its founder was a Hindoo outcast, belonging to the very lowest class of society, following an occupation of the most degrading nature, and who could not, in the ordinary course of things, attain to either wealth or consequence; his class being that of the Pariahs, and his employment that of a sweeper—to this day the most abject of the menials tolerated in an Indian establishment. The subsequent good fortune of this individual was owing to an accident, which disconcerted the schemes of a pretender to the occult art, at the court of Bejapoor. The king, Ibrahim Shah I., having for a long period been afflicted with a distressing malady, and having in vain consulted the physicians, who could render him no relief, at length summoned to his chamber an astrologer of high repute in his kingdom, and inquired of him whether he could procure his restoration to health through the influence of the stars. The sage determined that one person, at least, should be benefited by their means; and intending that the good fortune should fall into his own lap, told the king that the heavenly bodies would prove favourable to his wishes, if, upon a particular morning, he should present a very large sum of money (naming the amount) to the first human being he should see. There is no doubt, according to the tradition, that the astrologer intended to present himself to the notice of the king; but Ibrahim, in his natural eagerness to avail himself of so easy a mode of procuring relief, arose at an unusually early hour; and, proceeding across a court of the palace, was met by a sweeper—a domestic compelled to be astir early in the morning, that his presence should not offend the sight of his superiors. The king, in strict compliance with the directions of the astrologer, called the trembling servant to him; and, to the astonishment of the latter, instead of smiting off his head for daring to be visible in the presence of the sovereign, put the money into his hands, and bade him use it as the gift of the king. The pariah, who knew that, outcast as he was, the possession of wealth would not procure for him respect and distinction, and that a temple raised by him to the deities of his people would be considered a profanation, determined to employ it in the erection of a building in which the Mohammedan subjects of his royal benefactor could offer their prayers for his recovery to health; and, accordingly, he built the Maitree Kujoos, which still remains entire, and attracts the traveller's admiration by the symmetry of its proportions, and the beautiful carved work with which it is adorned.

It may be presumed that neither the stars or the pious gratitude of the Pariah were of any avail in mitigating the disease by which the king was afflicted, as it is recorded among the traditions of the Seven-Storied Tower, that, after causing several of his physicians to be trampled to death by his elephants, for their inability to cure him, he sank under the ravages of his malady, and left an unquiet kingdom to Ali Shah, his son and emulator in works of taste and in acts of cruelty.

ASSER MAHAL—BEJAPoor.

THE accompanying engraving affords a correct view of one of the numerous palaces, now in the last stage of ruin, which embellished the once flourishing capital of Bejapoor. The massive pile stands upon the margin of a broad moat which encircles the ruined citadel, in the central part of the city, where the progress of decay has been more rapid and extensive than in any other of the desolate quarters of this extraordinary city of premature ruins.

The annals of Bejapoor contain some curious instances of the political influence and the bold interference of females in affairs of state, tolerated in that kingdom; for notwithstanding the jealous exclusion, by the Mohammedans, of females from any part of

the government, and the little influence they were permitted to have in society, they, upon many occasions, contrived to take an active part in the intrigues and revolutions of courts; and with one of those instances of womanly interference in the affairs of state, the Asser Mahal appears to have been connected. The occasion was as follows:—Upon the death of the third monarch of Bejapoor, his son and rightful successor, Ismail Adil Shah, was a boy of tender age, who had not yet left the zenana of the palace; and the affairs of the kingdom were consequently administered for a time by a regent, Khumul Khan, who, by the desire of the dying king, was to govern for his son during the minority of the latter. The regent, however, preferred to govern for himself; and formed a design to seize the prince, and, by his death, to remove the chief obstacle to his ambitious intentions. The queen-mother became aware of the plot, and determined to preserve her son by the assassination of the treacherous regent. This important point was accomplished; but the counter-plot, though successful as far as the death of Khumul Khan was concerned, was nearly frustrated by the measures resorted to by the mother of the murdered regent; who, concealing the fact of her son's death, had his body magnificently dressed, but supported by pillows, as if labouring under indisposition; and, in this state, presented it at an open balcony of the palace, to receive the accustomed homage of the nobles; during which ceremony, she directed her grandson to proceed to the Asser Mahal, the royal residence, with an armed force, and seize the person of the young king. The queen-mother, who had been informed of the approach of troops, imagined that Khumul Khan had escaped the dagger aimed at his heart; and, in her terror, was at first disposed to throw herself at the feet of her enemies—a step she was, however, prevented taking, by the counsel of Dilshad Agha, the young monarch's foster-aunt, who addressed the guard of the king upon the imminent danger of their royal master, and, ordering the palace gates to be closed, dispatched messengers to the foreign chiefs in her retinue, who had lately accompanied her from Persia, to inform them that the palace was surrounded by the troops of the usurper; adjuring them not to heed the superiority of numbers which the enemy could bring against them, but to stand up valorously for their prince, and overthrow the traitor who, for his ingratitude and ambition, was accursed of God and man. The foreign guards instantly drew their weapons in defence of the young sovereign, and proceeded towards the palace. Meanwhile, the troops within resisted every attempt of the enemy to gain admittance; the queen-mother, and Dilshad Agha, animated the garrison by assuming male attire, and appeared on the walls clad in the harness of warriors, and armed with bows and arrows, but still wearing their veils. The boy-king, Ismail Adil Shah, accompanied them, attended by a Turkish woman named Moortufa, who held the yellow umbrella (the emblem of sovereignty assumed by his father) over the head of the young prince. An animated conflict ensued beneath the walls; and though the foreign guard without, and the little garrison within the palace, fought with determined resolution, the disparity of numbers would eventually have secured the victory to the traitors, had not a body of Toorkomans, resident in the city, been enabled to gain admission to the palace by scaling the terrace at a distant part of the building, and thus coming to the rescue of the king. This fortunate accession had scarcely been reported to the queen-mother, when the outer gate of the palace was forced, and the besiegers rushed into the first court, from which they were speedily driven by the troops led by Dilshad Agha. The young king, with his mother and a few attendants, were together on the tower over the outer gateway, from whence they could perceive the course of events below on either side; and when, on the repulse of the rebel troops, the latter emerged through the gateway, the young king, observing that Jufdar Khan, the late regent's son, had crouched down to avoid a flight of arrows, opportunely rolled from the parapet a ponderous stone upon the stooping traitor, which crushed him; and his adherents, dismayed by his fate, abandoned the attack on the palace, and sought to provide for their own safety by timely flight.

Bejapoor, in its prosperous days, was distinguished for the magnificence with which the great festivals of the faithful were celebrated within its walls; and more especially that of the Mohurram, which the majority of the inhabitants kept with the greatest degree of solemnity and splendour; and, upon these occasions, high state was kept in the royal palace of Asser Mahal, now so desolate, and whose deathlike silence is only broken by the shrill cry of the jackal, or the hoarse scream of the famished vulture.

SINGHAM MAHAL, TORWAY—BEJAPoor.

THE remains of a royal palace, built by one of the early sovereigns of Bejapoor, at a village called Torway, about five miles from the western gate of the city, are represented in the accompanying plate. The ruins of a mosque, and the fragments of other important buildings scattered around, would seem to imply that Torway had been a place of some importance during the prosperous state of the kingdom whose capital it so nearly adjoined. The direct road from Poona to Bejapoor lies through Torway, from several points of which, magnificent views of the lonely city present themselves; and here, as from all other points which command a prospect of the capital, the majestic dome of the mausoleum of Mahomed Shah (the Burra Gumbooze) arrests the wandering eye, as it rises in solemn grandeur above the clustering towers and pinnacles of the surrounding buildings. At this spot, the extreme desolation of the country, its scanty cultivation, and the scarcity of its inhabitants, are seen in its undisturbed loneliness, and do not fail to impress the mind of the spectator with melancholy sentiment. Never, perhaps, could the traveller who has followed at a distance the devastating progress of Mahratta conquest, behold at one glance more striking proofs of the misery to which the rule of that power has doomed every portion of the land submitted to its sway, than is spread before him as he stands upon the ruined towers of Singham Mahal at Torway.

Delighting in a roving existence, and preferring the uncertain but exciting shelter of a camp to the more quiet and peaceful abodes of cities, the Mahrattas cared nothing for fine buildings, and the skill of the architect was lavished upon them in vain. Unlike the Moslems, who, whenever they extended their dominion, introduced new arts and luxuries; and when pulling down the temples of the unbelievers, never failed to erect mosques of equal or superior magnificence in their stead—who converted waste places into flourishing cities, and have left almost imperishable marks of their genius and their glory wherever they planted the standard of the prophet—the Mahrattas, on the contrary, passed over a land like a pestilence, blighting and destroying all that came within their baleful influence, and converting the fairest possessions into a sterile desert, or shattered ruins. Bejapoor has suffered much from their devastating fury; and yet less than many other cities that have been overrun by them, since they have actually, for some cause or other, set apart a portion of its revenues for the support of its tombs and mosques—an almost isolated instance of their liberality in regard to the works of their predecessors when rulers of the country.

The ruin delineated upon the accompanying engraving, consists of a succession of square towers of various elevations, rising from an artificial platform considerably above the level of the surrounding district. The approach to the interior is by a singularly pointed arch of great height, but beautiful proportions, in a square tower at the right extremity of the building. A series of narrow courts, communicating by gateways of smaller dimensions, occupy the interior area of the ruin, few of the chambers being now accessible. On the left of the picture, a smaller arch conducts to a guard-chamber and some inferior courts, which communicate with the gardens of the palace, now in a state of utter dilapidation and ruin. Many of the lower apartments of the palace have been appropriated by some natives in the vicinity for dwelling-places, owing perhaps to the contiguity of a small howlee (or pond), which is situated at a short distance from the outer wall of the main building. The solidity of the workmanship and materials of the Singham Mahal, will doubtless, for many years to come, enable it to resist the wear of time and the fury of the elements; but "Ichabod" is written over its gates: and it is impossible to stand upon the massive tower and look down upon the country at its feet, without feeling of a truth that the glory of the land has departed.

The ruin before us was evidently but a small portion of the original structure, which would appear to have been less burthened with ornament than the buildings of the city, and to approximate in style to the design of the Asser Mahal before noticed, and with which, in all probability, it was coeval, if not built by the same architect.

Seen from a distance, the broad white towers of Singham Mahal stand out against the horizon like some pale spectral monitor, to proclaim the transitory grandeur of man, and the ephemeral duration of kingdoms, as represented by the oblivion to which their founder has been consigned, and by the ruins of his capital that lie scattered before it.

HINDOO TEMPLE AND PALACE—MADURA.

THE singularly interesting remains represented in the accompanying engraving occur in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient city of Madura, situated almost at the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, and about 270 miles S.W. of Madras. The city is enclosed by old bastioned stone walls, and was formerly the capital of a province. Its principal streets are wide and regular, and the public buildings, for the most part, are magnificent; but its private dwellings are unusually mean and insignificant. At this place are still the remains, in excellent preservation, of some of the most remarkable buildings in India, comprising an extensive palace, a vast temple with pyramidal towers, and a choultry, or inn, of very large dimensions. The temple covered an amazing extent of ground, and had numerous shrines dedicated to the favourite deities of the country.

Madura was celebrated, for several centuries, as the seat of learning in this part of the world, its college being famous throughout the East; and, previous to the changes which took place after the Mohammedan conquest, it exercised a strong degree of influence over the entire native population. It continued to flourish during seven centuries, securing to both male and female children (for in those days the sex was not degraded) the advantages of a liberal education. By the rules established at the foundation of this college, every person, without respect to caste, was eligible to become a professor, upon showing the requisite qualifications; and, at a somewhat later period, when the prejudices of the Brahminical faith had become more confirmed, two persons presented themselves who were *Pariahs*, a brother and sister. An attempt was made to exclude these candidates; but, confidently appealing to the laws passed on the establishment of the college, and being found to excel all other competitors, they were elected, and speedily arrived at the head of the institution, where they continued all their lives. Tunvaluver, the brother, and the author of many distinguished works in the Tansil language, became the president; and to Avyia, the sister, the country was indebted for the best elementary treatises that had yet appeared—her productions being, to this day, the class-books of scholars of the highest rank and caste in all the Hindoo schools of the Southern Carnatic.

The ruins at Madura are objects of particular attention at the present time, on account of attempts recently made to revive learning in the East, and to restore the college to its original splendour. In consequence of the influence so long exercised by it over the Hindoos in the southern peninsula of India, two celebrated Jesuit missionaries, Robertus de Nobilius, and Berchi, who lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, formed plans for its revival, and commenced the restoration of such parts of the building as had fallen into decay; but, owing to dissensions in their order, they were unable to carry their design into effect. Some progress in the restoration was, however, made by them, and a material deviation from the architectural style of the original builder was occasioned at the suggestion of the Jesuit Nobilius, who, with a view to the introduction of the religion he himself professed, recommended the ornamental appendages of angels on various parts of the pyramidal towers—an innovation upon the rules of the sacred architecture of India that none but a zealous champion of the church of Rome, regardless of consequences, would have ventured upon.

At a much later period, another effort was made to restore the college to efficiency, under the auspices of the British authorities; but obstacles intervened, and it now pre-

sents but a faint shadow of its former importance. The city itself is still regarded by the Hindoos as peculiarly sacred.

THE CAVE TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA.

ELEPHANTA is the name given to an island in the harbour of Bombay, situate about seven miles south-west of the city, and something more than six miles in circumference. By the natives of the adjacent coast it is still called by its original name, "Gare-poori" (the Place of Caves); but the Portuguese, during their occupation of the island of Bombay, distinguished it by the term "Elephanta," from a colossal but rude figure of an elephant carved out of the solid rock, which once formed a striking object on approaching the shore; but has now, for many years past, been little more than a huge misshapen mass of stone. Upon landing, visitors to the island are conducted, by Brahmins in attendance, from the shore to the platform of the temple by a steep and narrow pathway, which winds through very beautiful scenery, sometimes stretching along the margin of a precipice, and then meandering through richly wooded groves, where the *gloriosa superba* spreads its clustering flowers amidst luxuriant branches bending with fruit and foliage. In the route, the prospects obtained of the harbour, the opposite shore of Salsette, and of the northern part of the island, are bold yet interesting. At intervals glimpses may be caught, between the interstices of the surrounding trees, of the distant ghâts on the mainland, and the upper part of the beautiful bay in which Elephanta is embosomed—the high ground broken into innumerable ridges, and thickly covered by magnificent topes, amongst which the coronals of the Tara palm are conspicuous, and affording to the delighted gazer one of the grandest displays of forest scenery, with its bright and never-fading verdure, gigantic leaves, and gorgeous blossoms, that can be found along the coast of India.

Having accomplished about two-thirds of the ascent of the hill, the path opens upon a platform of exquisite loveliness, immediately in front of the entrance to the Cavern Temple roofed in by the wood-crowned mountain, within which its mysterious treasures are concealed; and whose *façade* presents a combination of architectural and artistic skill, that imperceptibly prepares the mind for the development of the yet greater wonders that lay hidden in the mysterious gloom of the fane itself.

The view given in the annexed plate represents the front or principal entrance to the cave, the main features of which consist in the multiplicity and arrangement of beautifully sculptured columns, by which the ponderous roof is sustained, and through which a dim yet magnificent perspective is presented along cathedral-like aisles of vast dimensions, that is at length lost in the profound darkness of the space prepared for a worship whose ritual has been imperfectly preserved among the traditions of an antiquity coeval with European notions of the creation.

The stone of which the Cavern Temple of Elephanta is composed, appears to be of a quality resembling porphyry, and the tracery and sculptures with which the singularly-formed columns of the entrance, and also of the interior, are decorated, are exquisitely delicate, and, in many places, still preserve the fresh impress of the original design. But, with these works of marvellous beauty and grandeur, as with those found in the interior of the temple, ignorance and superstition have committed strange and barbarous havoc; and the blind fanaticism of the Portuguese has more than aided the ravages of time in the work of dilapidation and ruin. The ultra-bigots of the European peninsula, who have never been able to tolerate any idolatry but their own, very soon after their first settlement upon the island of Bombay and its dependencies (of which Gare-poori was one of the most remarkable), found employment for their ill-directed zeal in the destruction of every accessible relic of the worship of the natives, however curious and wonderful, as a work of art, might be the object of their antipathy. In these caves,

among other means of accomplishing their object, they adopted a process for the mutilation of the columns and sculptures that was ingenious and partly effective. Lighting large fires around the columns, and before the massive sculptures within the temple, they would, when the masses had become sufficiently heated, throw cold water upon them, which, causing expansion, made the stone split in all directions. Of the pillars seen in the accompanying plate, many of the shafts and capitals have been subjected to this destructive process; and others, although still erect, have had large splinters rent off from the top to the bottom. This, however, was not the only method resorted to by the iconoclasts of Portugal, in India: at times, guns were brought to the island, and discharged at the columns and sculptures, for the purpose of battering them down. Thus few of the remarkable groups and isolated figures that once filled this singular temple with a theogony so darkly mysterious, and powerful in its influences upon an imaginative people, are now in a perfect state; and it is to be regretted, that what of mischief was left unaccomplished by the Portuguese zealots in those days of bigotry, has been since effected to a lamentable extent by modern travellers from other countries, who, carried away by an affectation of geological studies, or a yet less excusable propensity to obtain memorials of these extraordinary relics of far-distant ages of mankind, have broken and carried off fragments of foliage and statuary to a merciless extent, merely for the sake of specimens.

The period attributed for the construction of the Cavern Temple of "Gare poori" is involved in impenetrable doubt and obscurity. The traditions connected with it, as with the Caves of Ellora, are so vague and unsatisfactory, as to afford little assistance in arriving at any probable conclusion. The occurrence of these temples in one particular portion of the peninsula, and upon ground exclusively occupied by the Mahrattas, render very probable the supposition that they were the work of some great people insulated from the rest of the world, and whose existence has been forgotten in the lapse of ages; and it cannot be doubted, that a nation must have progressed many years to produce works requiring such extraordinary and persevering labour.

The area occupied by the temple is nearly a parallelogram, being 130 feet deep, and about 133 broad, divided into nine aisles formed of twenty-six pillars, of which eight are broken away altogether, and most of the remainder are much injured. Time has done much to accomplish this; but man, to his discredit, has immeasurably outstripped the wear of time, in the extent of mischief perpetrated in the Cave Temple of Elephanta.

INTERIOR OF ELEPHANTA—THE TRIAD BUST.

For a proper examination of the wonders of this far-famed temple, the visitor is provided with torches by persons who hover about the caverns for the purpose of conducting strangers to the interior. A dim light that gradually fades into intense darkness at the further extremity of the cavern, faintly reveals the innumerable specimens of characteristic sculpture that cover the walls from the entrance to the farthest recess of the excavation; but as the torches advance, and their light is thrown upon the mystic forms that meet the eye in every direction, one massive object, amidst the gloom of distance, fronts the spectator, and arrests his attention probably to the exclusion for a time of every other idea than that of surprise and awe. The colossal triple-headed bust, represented in the engraving, is the wonder of Elephanta, and occupies a vast recess at the extremity of the central aisle of the temple. The dimensions of this extraordinary relic of ancient art and superstition are, from the bottom of the bust to the summit of the cap on the central head, eighteen feet; the principal face is five feet in length; and the width, from the front of the ear to the middle of the nose, is three feet four inches: the width of the whole bust is twenty feet. The face of the central head is prescuted full, and is expressive of dignified composure, and of the absorbed state which constitutes

the supreme felicity of the Indian deity; a towering pyramidal cap surmounts the head, once richly decorated with superb jewels; and the devices with which the cap is covered are exquisitely wrought: around the neck of the same figure was formerly suspended a broad collar, composed of precious stones and pearls, long since appropriated to a more useful purpose than the decoration of a block of carved stone in the bowels of a mountain.

The face on the left of the central figure is in profile. The head-dress, like that of the former, is elaborately decorated, and the countenance is expressive of gentleness and benignity. One hand is shown of this figure, in which is held the sacred lotus; in the other is grasped a fruit resembling a pomegranate; and a ring, fashioned and worn like those used by Hindoos at the present time, is placed upon one of the wrists. The head on the right also shows the face in profile; but the expression, and the person represented, are distinctly contrasted with those of the sculptured deity just described. In this case, stern ferocity marks the features; the forehead projects; the eyes seem to glare upon the spectator; snakes supply the place of hair; and human skulls are embossed upon the mitre-shaped covering of the head. One hand of this terrific-looking image grasps a monstrous cobra de capella; the other holds a smaller reptile of the same deadly species; and the effect of the design is indescribably repulsive.

The whole of this singular triad is hewn out of the solid rock, which is a coarse-grained dark-gray basaltic formation, called by geologists trachyte; and, as before mentioned, it occupies a recess cut into the rock to the depth of thirteen feet, including the thickness of the doorway screen, or wall, projecting beyond it, which is about two feet and a-half. The basement upon which it rests is raised two feet nine inches from the ground, having at each corner holes, apparently for the purpose of receiving door-posts; and a groove runs along the floor in front, which, it is probable, was intended to receive a screen or veil, let down occasionally to conceal the mysterious group. On each side of the niche is sculptured a gigantic human figure, having in one hand an attribute of the Deity, and with the other resting upon a dwarf-like figure standing by its side.

Niches, or recesses of large dimensions, and crowded with sculpture, appear on either side of the one occupied by the triad. In that on the right-hand side is a colossal figure, apparently a female, but with one breast only. This figure has four arms; the foremost right-hand rests on the head of a bull; the other grasps a cobra de capella. A circular shield is borne on the inner left-hand; but the second arm on that side has been broken off. The head-dress of this figure is like that of the central triad, and is richly ornamented. On the right of this female is a male figure of smaller proportions, bearing a pronged instrument representing a trident; on the left, a female bears a sceptre. Near the principal figure described, is an elephant, surmounted by a beautiful youth; and above the latter is a figure with four heads, supported by birds. Opposite to these is a male figure with four arms, sitting on the shoulders of another personage, who has a sceptre in one of the hands; and at the upper part of the back of the recess are numerous small sculptured figures, in a variety of attitudes and dress, supported by clouds.

Turning to the niche on the left, the most conspicuous of the group that is presented to sight is the statue of a male, near seventeen feet in height, having four arms. To the left of this is a female fifteen feet in height: rings, of the same pattern as now worn by Hindoo women, are shown on the wrists and ankles of this figure, and her hair is also arranged strictly in accordance with the style among Hindoo females at the present time. The countenance of this statue is sweetly feminine, and expressive of gentleness and amiability. In the background is a figure with four heads, supported by birds; and another with four arms, sitting on the shoulders of one in an erect posture. Several minor figures are in attendance upon the principal personages; one of them, having his right knee bent to the ground, as in the act of addressing the chief, bears a crese like those now used by the Malays. The head-gear of the whole of the small figures bears a striking resemblance to the wigs worn by our modern judges.

On either side of the groups last described, an opening from the recess leads to a small chamber unadorned by sculpture, and probably intended for the private use of the officiating Brahmins, when the triune worship of Brahma was daily offered in this mysterious temple. These dark and rarely visited cells are now the hiding-places of bats, spiders, and scorpions; nor are the venomous reptiles of the island strangers to the shelter they afford.

Turning from these dismal holes and their dangerous occupants, a few paces to the left of the last-described group, approaching the side of the cave, brings the visitor opposite another cluster of figures, of a less repulsive character than the preceding. Here a male figure is observed in the act of leading a young female towards a majestic personage seated upon a sort of couch at the corner of the niche. The decoration of his head is strikingly similar to that of an English judge. The countenance and attitude of the female is expressive of modesty and reluctance, and she is apparently urged forward by a male figure behind her. Several small figures, in various attitudes, and bearing symbols of the attributes of the Deity, fill up the sides and back of this recess.

Crossing to the opposite side of the cave, and about fifty feet from the entrance, is another recess of larger dimensions, enclosing a gigantic half-length of a male figure with eight arms. Round one on the left side is a belt composed of human heads. One of the right-hands grasps a sword uplifted, as if to cut in twain a figure kneeling before a block, held in the correspondent left-hand. From under one arm protrudes the head of a cobra, and among the ornaments of the head is a skull. Many smaller figures surround this terrible conception, whose features are marked by unrelenting ferocity; and the countenances of all the subordinate figures are expressive of remorse and pain. Of this group, scarcely a single figure has been left un mutilated.

Again, crossing to the opposite side of the temple, near one of the dark chambers already mentioned, is a recess containing a male figure, sitting in the exact and peculiar position still adopted by the native Hindoos. A female figure, in a similar posture, is on his left-hand, and each has an attendant on either side. At the feet of the male, a bull lies couchant, and a colossal male figure, armed, stands at each corner of the niche. Facing this is a correspondent niche; but the figures have been damaged beyond the possibility of description.

A recess, or niche, of similar proportions to the preceding, appears on each side within the entrance to the cavern. In one is a male figure, much mutilated, and having only fragments of the eight arms it was originally formed with by the sculptor. Behind this, in very bold relief, is a figure having four heads, and another with four uplifted arms; both of these figures are supported in the air by birds. In the corresponding recess, on the other side of the entrance, is a colossal figure of a male in a sitting posture, having behind him another figure on horseback. The animal is caparisoned precisely in the style of the country at the present time.

Returning towards the recess of the triformed idol, at the extreme end of the temple, by the left side, we arrive at a chamber excavated from the rock, of vast height, and forming a parallelogram of about thirty feet: in the centre of this apartment, upon a square altar, is the *Lingam*, or symbol of the god Mahadeva, or Mahadeo, which consists of a huge polished stone of cylindrical form, rounded and slightly convex at the top.* This emblem represents the god in his character of Regenerator; and it appears to be synonymous with the *Phallus* of the Greeks, and the *Priapus* of the Romans, although its origin, as an object of worship, preceded the existence of those nations by many ages. The chamber in which this representation of deity is enshrined, is detached on each side from the living rock, and has an entrance in the centre of each face. On either side of these doorways stands a male figure, seventeen feet in height, bearing various symbols in a state of utter dilapidation; but the ornaments of

* "Mahadeva, or Mahadeo (the Great God), is a name of Siva. Of the origin of the mystic worship of the Linga, little appears to be understood; it may be presumed to have been Nature under the male and female forms, personified as Siva, the Sun or Fire, the genial heat of which pervades, generates, and vivifies all; and Bhawani, who, as the goddess of nature, is also the earth, the universal mother. The two active principles of life having been thus personified, may have been subsequently converted, by the grossness of idolatry (which in its progress invariably seeks to gratify the sensual appetites, rather than to elevate the minds of its votaries), from imaginary forms to gross realities; from the personified symbols of nature, to typical representations of the procreative powers of the symbols themselves. The places of Linga worship, or idolatry, are still numerous throughout Hindoostan; and the votaries of the idol are, beyond comparison, in excess of the worshippers of any other deity or symbol recognised by the sacred books of the Hindoos. Some of these emblems are of enormous size, and are usually of basalt: others are made, at morning and evening, of the clay of the Ganges, and, after worship, are cast into the sacred stream."—Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindoos*. In the cavern temple, under the fort of Allahabad, there is still an altar with the Linga of Mahadeo, looked upon with great reverence by those worshippers who can obtain access to it. See *History of the Mutiny in India*, vol. i., p. 249.

dress sculptured on each are in tolerable preservation, and very much diversified in character.

The whole of the excavations hitherto described comprise the area of the Great Cavern Temple; but there are various chambers of minor dimensions branching off on each side of it. Most of these have been rendered inaccessible by the ravages of the Portuguese spoilers, who appear to have employed themselves more successfully in battering down the columns or other supports of the roofs of the secondary chambers, than they were in their destructive operations against the principal temple; and huge fragments of rock, and masses of earth, now block up the approaches to these mysterious caverns. From one point, however, a glimpse is obtained of an interior, of apparently vast dimensions, having the walls enriched with sculpture: a band surmounts the figures, covered with characters, that are represented by the attendant Brahmins as an inscription; but they do not profess to decipher or explain it. Among the sculpture cut from the wall of this apartment is a large human figure, with the head of an elephant; and in the midst of the gloom in which this chamber is enveloped, a portion of an enclosure can be perceived, of like character and dimensions to that containing the *Lingam*, on the opposite side of the Great Temple.

Various conjectures have been hazarded by the learned, as to the origin and purposes of these extraordinary cavern temples, which, from the style of sculpture and peculiar symbols borne by the various figures, there can be little room to doubt were constructed, at a very early period, by the progenitors of the races that still occupy Hindoostan. That they were appropriated to the worship of Mahadeva, or Mahadco (a name of Siva, "the destroyer or changer"), appears probable, from the frequency of the representation of that deity, and the innumerable varieties of attributes and symbols by which his impersonation is accompanied; and the following explanation of some of the extraordinary sculptures in the caverns at Elephanta, is from a paper preserved among the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The triple-headed colossal bust, which forms the chief object of the large temple, is described in this document as a personification of the three great attributes of that being for whom the ancients, as well as the Hindoos of the present day, have entertained the most profound veneration, and of whom they appear to have had most extravagant conceptions. The middle head of the group represents *Brahma*, or the *creative* power; that on the left is the same deity, in his character of *Vishnu*, or the *preserver*; and the head on the right is that of the god, in the form of *Siva*, the *destructive*, or changing, attribute of the triune god of the Hindoos.

The figure represented as a female with *one* breast, symbolises the wife of Siva exercising the active powers of her lord, not only as Bhawani, a destroyer, but as Isani, the goddess of nature—combining the male and female sexes in one; and also as Durga, the protector of the virtuous. The bull couchant at the feet of one of the deities, symbolises an attribute of Siva, under his name of Iswara; and the male figure near it bears the *trisulc*, or trident of that god. The beautiful youth on the elephant, already noticed, represents Cama, the Hindoo god of love; the figure with four heads, supported and surrounded by birds, is a form of Brahma; and that with four arms, mounted on the shoulders of another figure, is a representation of Vishnu.

The two principal figures in the niche to the left, represent *Siva*, and his consort as *Parvati*; with Brahma and Vishnu in the background: and the terrific figure with eight arms, represents the destroyer *Siva* in action. The distant scene, with small figures expressive of pain and distress, denotes the sufferings of those sentenced by Brahma to the place of torment.

The sitting male and female figures, with a bull couchant at the feet of the former, are also Siva and his consort Bhawani. The form with human body and an elephant's head, represents *Ganesa*, the Hindoo god of wisdom, and first-born son of Siva; and the presence of the *Lingam* is of itself considered an unquestionable proof that the whole of the cave temple of the island of Gare-poori, or Elephanta, was dedicated to the worship of the god Siva, and to the mysteries of his cruel and impure ritual.

THE CAVE OF KARLI.

THIS extraordinary excavation occurs near the village of Ekverah, in the province of Aurungabad, and in the midst of a chain of hills of a very picturesque character. Many of the ridges are level; but others rise abruptly from the range, and towering above their fellows in lonely majesty, lift their forked and riven summits high into the heavens. Of the lower eminences, many have large platforms of table-land at the top; and are, on that account, well adapted for the hill fortresses which, in the early days of Indian warfare, were the favourite strongholds of predatory chieftains of the various races. Two of such mountain fortresses have been at some remote period erected in the neighbourhood of Ekverah, or Karli, and are still in good repair. Merely separated by the valley in which the village is built, their scarped sides and bastioned heights give to the surrounding scenery a formidable, and by no means inviting, appearance.

The subject of the accompanying plate is the entrance to the Cave Temple of Karli, situated at a distance of about 300 feet from the base of one of the hills. It is approached from the valley by a difficult pathway, which has more the appearance of a gulley formed by the rains, than a regular road, being very steep, and exceedingly rugged. The track, however, when surmounted, ends in a terrace or platform, about a hundred feet in width, and partly artificial, being cut in the face of the hill, and constructed of rock hewn from the interior of it. In front, and on the left side of the entrance, is a column twenty-four feet high, and about eight in diameter, having the upper part dome-shaped, and surmounted by a flat slab, on which are the mutilated remains of three lions of considerable proportions. It is believed that a corresponding pillar, on the opposite side of the entrance, has at some very remote period been removed, to afford space for the erection of a small temple which now occupies the site, dedicated to the worship of Bhawani. The column is girdled with an inscription, in characters similar to those in the smaller cavern temple in Elephanta; and, like those, has baffled all attempts to decipher it.

A screen has originally ran across the entrance; but this is partly broken down, and thus displays the grandeur of the arch cut over the doorway—an aperture not at all commensurate with the noble dimensions of the interior. Between the outer and inner screens there is a verandah or vestibule, extending the whole width of the cave, very finely sculptured, with figures of men and animals in *alto-relievo*. Three colossal elephants stand on each side, with driver, and riders in their howdahs, executed in a very free and bold manner; and other figures, both male and female, are finished in the same artistic style. The sculptured deities at Karli are, however, confined to the walls; the only detached object of importance being a large circular altar of stone, surmounted by a wooden canopy. The length of the great cavern is 126 feet, and it is 46 feet wide. The roof, which is arched and ribbed with wood (a circumstance which adds to its singularity, while it somewhat injures its effect), is supported by two rows of pillars, each surmounted by an elephant bearing a male and female figure on its back, encircling each other in their arms, and crouching beneath the weight above them.

The whole aspect of the temple is grand and imposing; but it is, if possible, more gloomy than the cavern fanes of Elephanta or Ellora. That when resorted to by worshippers it was artificially illuminated, there can be little doubt; as, without the aid of torches or lamps, the sculptures in the side aisles are not distinguishable. The wood-work is conjectured to have been added at a period subsequent to the first formation of the temple: it is of teak; and is traditionally reported to have existed 900 years. A portion of this ribbing is shown in the plate, on the roof of the arch in front; and it is still in a high state of preservation.

Indian *literati* have decided Karli to be a Boodhist temple, the figure of Boodh, and the symbols of that deity, being the predominant ornaments; while it is destitute of a single vestige of the twenty-four attributes of the Jains—a distinguishing feature in the

temples belonging to that sect. Several other chambers are connected with the main temple, but they have all been left in an unfinished and rude state, and contain nothing to attract notice. Outside the cavern there are a few native huts, inhabited by the servants of the Brahmins, who, a few years since, mustered in greater strength at Karli than at any other of the cave temples. According to the doctrine of these infatuated idolaters, a state of complete abstraction from all outward influences is the *summum bonum* of earthly felicity; and among the priesthood of Boodh were to be found many who, from their total indifference to worldly and personal concerns, and total abandonment to an idiotic state of contemplation, might have been deemed worthy to represent the deity itself. One of such individuals had for a long time sat, day and night, before a flame of fire, with a cloth over his mouth to prevent him from inhaling pollution, and subsisting solely upon parched grain and water, strained through a cloth. In vain did the Peishwa, who supported the bigot from his own treasury, endeavour to induce him to reside at his court. Nothing could detach him from the post of mistaken duty; and there, after a long period of self-denial and valueless existence, the Boodhist priest passed away from idiotic abstraction before the altar at Karli, to his perfect heaven of unconsciousness. What influence the recent disturbances in India may have upon the native resources from which the race of ascetics in that country have hitherto been supported, time must determine; but there is little doubt that the confiscations which have naturally followed the crimes of rebellion, will have deprived very many of those chiefs and zemindars most likely to uphold such fanatics, of the means of doing so; and thus, notwithstanding the partiality for a life of indolence, by which vacancies in the ranks of these idiots have hitherto been filled up, a total deprivation of support will doubtless have the effect of extinguishing the ambition of individuals who might otherwise succeed to the hermitages of so-called "holy men."

The view from the terrace in front of the temple at Karli is very fine, stretching over a rich and beautiful country, and bounded by a chain of distant mountains. The village, from which the temple is named, is situated about two miles from the excavation, and forms a pretty object in the landscape—its rural habitations peeping out from the midst of mango groves, and embellished by a large tank and a pagoda of considerable architectural beauty. The chain of mountains, amid which the excavations are found, extend from Cape Comorin, at the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, to the northern boundary of the province of Candeish, in a series unbroken except at one place, about twelve miles broad, in a portion of the Malabar territory. This hilly range in no instance recedes more than fifty miles from the sea, or approaches it within eight; and but few of the passes through it are yet known to Europeans—the passage of the Western Ghats being still a service of great difficulty, and no inconsiderable amount of danger.

THE CAVE TEMPLES OF ELLORA.

AMONG the numerous astonishing works of ancient art still spread over India to excite the surprise and admiration of posterity, the Cave Temples of Ellora are justly entitled to be deemed extraordinary, even in a land of wonders; and of these, the one designated "Keylas," or "the paradise of the gods," is eminently deserving of notice. The mountain range in which the excavations we are about to describe occur, takes its name from a village of the Deccan, near Dowlutabad—a singular hill fortress, and capital of a district of Central India; and is of an extremely picturesque character, independent of the interest associated with the partly subterranean and partly isolated temples and palaces it contains, and which are cut from the living rock, and enriched with a variety and redundancy of sculptured ornament that defy any efforts fully to describe.

According to the Brahminical account of the origin of these excavations, 7,894 years have elapsed since they were commenced, as a work of pious gratitude, by Eeloo Rajah,

son of Peshpout of Ellichpore, when 3,000 years of the Dwarpa Yoag were unaccomplished; which, added to the 4,894 years of the present, or "Kal Yoag," completes the full number, 7,894. Eeloo Rajah was, as they record, afflicted by a disease that resisted all efforts to cure or alleviate it. In quest of relief, the sufferer sought a then famous purifying water, named Sewa Lye, or Sewallee, which had been curtailed by Vishnu, at the instigation of Yemdhurhum, or Jum (the destroying spirit), from the dimensions of sixty bowshots' length and four in width, to the size of a cow's hoof. In this water Eeloo dipped a cloth, and cleansed with it his face and hands—an operation which cured him of the disease. He then built a khoond or cistern, and bathing therein his whole person, became purified; and looking upon the site of such a miraculous recovery as holy, he first constructed the temple-palace called Keylas, and then continued his pious work to the place of Biskurma, "the creator or maker of the world; known among the gods as the 'Carpenter or Artificer of Ramchundur.'" The excavations, altogether, embrace a series of fifteen larger, and an unascertained number of smaller, temples and shrines, cut in the bed of the mountain, of various dimensions and elevations. Of these, "Keylas," the most remarkable for its extent and marvellous sculpture, is the subject of the accompanying engravings.

The front entrance to the temple (as seen in the plate) is, for want of uniformity in design, less beautiful than many of the *façades* to be met with in the mountain series; but though deficient in exterior elegance, the Cave of Keylas—of which the portion represented is merely an outwork—is, upon the whole, the most elaborately designed and artistically enriched of the whole. In the plate, the summit of a pagoda—which stands insulated in the centre of a cleared area of considerable magnitude, and which is ornamented by colossal figures of the gods, with their various attributes—appears above the wall which connects the gateway, and the chamber over it, with the scarp of the rock. A part of one of the obelisks may likewise be seen a short distance to the left of the pagoda.

The height of the outer gateway of Keylas is fourteen feet, opening to a passage with apartments on either side. The sculptures on the outside are partly Boodhist, and partly of the school of Brahma. Over the doorway is the Nogara Khana, or music gallery, the floor of which forms the roof of a passage leading from the entrance to the excavated area within. Entering upon the latter, which is a wide expanse of level ground, formed by cutting down through the solid rock of the hill, an immense temple of a complex pyramidal form presents itself, connected with the gateway by a bridge, constructed by leaving a portion of the rock during the progress of the excavations. In front of the structure, and between the gateway and the temple, are the obelisks of Keylas, placed one on each side a pagoda or shrine, dedicated to the sacred bull Nundee. These obelisks are of a quadrangular form, eleven feet square, sculptured in a great variety of devices, all of which are elaborately finished; their height is about forty-one feet, and they are surmounted by the remains of some animal, supposed to have been a lion, which, though not an object of Brahmana veneration, occurs very frequently amongst the decorations of the Cave Temples. Approaching the entrance to the temple is a colossal figure of Bhawani, supported by a lotus, having on each side an elephant, whose trunks form a canopy over the head of the goddess. On each side of the passage, from the inner entrance, are recesses of great depth and proportions, in one of which, resting upon a solid square mass, is the bull Nundee, superbly decorated with ornaments and rich tracery; beyond this, on the opposite side, is a similar recess, in which is a sitting figure representing Boodh, surrounded by attendants; and near the end of the passage, where the body of the great temple commences, is a sitting figure of Guttordhirj (one of the incarnations of Siva), with his ten hands variously occupied. Turning to the right, the walls of the structure are covered by sculptures representing the battles of Ram and Rouon, in which the achievements of the monkey-god, Humayun, are conspicuously displayed. Pursuing the storey depicted by these sculptures to the end of the arch, interrupted in some parts by fragments of the wall and broken columns, the extremity discloses the entrances into three distinct excavations, supposed to be also temples; but as yet, for various causes, unexplored. Returning by the left side of the area, towards the entrance, the sculptured history of the war of the gods is continued, but in a pitiable state of dilapidation. It is worthy of remark, that the whole length of the substructure appears to be

supported on the backs of animals, such as elephants, lions, horses, &c., which project from the base of the piers in the surrounding walls, and give to the vast superincumbent mass an air of lightness and movability.

Keylas is further distinguished by the extent and beauty of its upper storey, to which the ascent is by two flights of stairs, consisting of thirty-six steps, which wind inwards, on each side of the entrance, and lead to the gallery over the porch of the temple: from hence, a small bridge conducts the visitor into a square chamber, in which is another image of the bull Nundee. A second bridge from this chamber communicates with a handsome portico, supported by two curiously-formed columns, which are surmounted on the outer face by animals representing lions, and, on the inside, by figures bearing a resemblance to the Egyptian sphinx. Passing this, another bridge and an ascent of four steps, conduct to a passage guarded by colossal figures bearing maces, and opening to the grand apartment of the temple, which is divided by two rows of pillars, and enclosed by massive piers. On each side there is a vacant space for one column towards the end of the area; and the accustomed recess—forming the shrine of the Lingam, and to which there is an ascent of five steps—occupies the extreme end.

Of this extraordinary structure and its accessories, it may suffice to mention, that every portion of the exterior, as well as the interior, is carved into columns, pilasters, friezes, and pediments, embellished with the representation of men and animals, singly or in groups, and accompanied with all the attributes which have rendered the Hindoo pantheon a vast gathering of monstrous conceptions. The galleries contain sculptured histories of the Hindoo mythology, which are represented in recessed compartments of the stone scarping, and in which are forty-two gigantic figures of gods and goddesses. Part of the south side of the area is occupied by chambers richly and lavishly embellished, one of them containing groups of female figures so exquisitely proportioned and sculptured, that even Grecian art has scarcely surpassed the beauty of the workmanship. Pen and pencil, it has been observed, however accurate and vivid, can afford very ineffectual aid in a field so vast and unparalleled as that of the Keylas of Ellora. The exceeding number and variety of the objects which present themselves to the eye, actually excite pain, until the tremulous sensations they arouse in the mind subside, and calm contemplation is enabled to succeed astonishment and awe. Of the Brahminical tradition of the origin of these stupendous works, mention has been made in the commencement of this article; but the popular belief among the natives ascribes it to supernatural agency. "Biskurma," say they, "the carpenter of Ramchundur, caused a night of six months; in which, having perfected these excavations, he was to connect them with the hill-fort of Dowlatabad, or Deoghur, about four coss distant; but the cock crowing before the completion of his task, the work was left unfinished, and the divine artificer passed into the outer (avatar) of Boodh." At any rate, conjecture is baffled in its endeavours to trace these mighty works to their founders.

Though still frequented by some fakirs, they have not, for many years, been held in much reverence by Hindoos generally. Their sacred character has been lost in the obscurity of unknown ages; and it can only be said that, whoever may have been the projectors of undertakings so vast and difficult, they must have possessed intellectual and imaginative gifts of extraordinary power, with vast resources for the supply of labour, and, moreover, must have existed in times of perfect security and peace. The rock from which the temples of Ellora are wrought, is a hard red granite; and from every peak and pinnacle of the sacred mountain, the eye roams over scenes of romantic beauty and marvellous grandeur. The dimensions of the excavation for Keylas are as follow:—

	Feet.
Height of the gateway	14
Passage, with rooms on each side, 15 feet by 9	42
Breadth of inner area or court	150
Length from gateway to the opposite scarp	247
Height of rock excavated	100
Dimensions of the temple itself:—	
Door of the portico 12 feet by 6	—
Length from the door of temple to back wall	103
Ditto from door to platform behind the temple	142
Extreme breadth of the interior	61
Height of the principal chamber	47

THE DUS OUTAR—ELLORA.

THE temple-cavern bearing this name occurs in the centre of the mountain-range of Ellora, and appears to have been devoted to the representation of the "ten incarnations, or avatars, of Vishnu," whose achievements are sculptured on the compartments by which the walls of the temple are adorned. The Dus Outar (ten avatars)—though it is evidently, from the multitude of its figures actively engaged in terrestrial affairs, a Brahminical temple—is distinguished from other excavations in the range, by having cells opening into its principal hall, resembling those which are found in caves purely Boodhist. Figures in the attitudes assumed by Boodh, surmount the capitals of the pillars in front, and various indications occur in every direction to render its positive character doubtful, particularly as the decorations of the cave are not peculiar to it, inasmuch as each of the adjacent temples is equally supplied with delineations of the achievements of the god during his sojourn in the nether world.

The subject of the accompanying plate is taken from one of the most perfect remains of the numerous compartments of the temple; and it is supposed to represent Siva in the act of crushing under his foot a demon who had offered insult to the goddess Parwatee, whom the former, in his avatar of Ehr Budr, had espoused. The mutilated condition of the group has totally obliterated any portion of grace that may formerly have characterised the female deity, who appears to be partly reclining on the ground, with outstretched arms, as if suddenly awakened in a state of alarm—a circumstance that might well be accounted for, had she possessed a mirror to reflect the charms of her countenance. The face of the recess in which this singular group appears, is in excellent preservation, as are the massive pillars that support the roof of the chamber, which is in an upper storey of the temple, and is 102 feet long, by 98 broad. The apartment has a flat roof twelve feet in height, supported by forty-eight enormous pillars, and twenty-two pilasters along the walls, dividing the sculptured recesses from each other. The whole *façade* of the temple is open, admitting more than the usual portion of light, and exhibiting the interior embellishments to much advantage.

ENTRANCE TO THE RAMESWAR.

RAMESWAR, one of the Ellora group of excavations, is of comparatively small dimensions among the gigantic works of similar kind and date in its vicinity. The excavation consists of a hall ninety feet in length, beyond which is a temple thirty-one feet square—both supported by massive pillars. Opposite the entrance to the outer cave is a square pedestal, surmounted by the bull Nundee, and, on the left of it, a tank of very fine water, to which the access is by a low doorway and steps cut in the rock. On either side of the entrance to the temple (shown in the accompanying engraving) are female figures sculptured with great delicacy, and of considerable beauty; and the entrance itself is supported by four pillars of extraordinary design, covered with rich tracery, and surmounted by capitals perfectly unique in style even in this vast museum of ancient art. Directly opposite the entrance, at the extreme end of the first cave, is a recess with the accustomed Lingam of Mahadeo, an invariable accessory to the symbols with which Hindoo temples are always profusely adorned. The walls and roof of this apartment are covered with figures, chiefly relating to the amusements of the deities, who are represented as enjoying themselves like common mortals, in dance and revelry.

Like the other wonderful relics of an unknown age in the mountains of Ellora, the decorations of Rameswar have been subjected to the wanton ravages of the spoiler, as

well as to the slow but sure depredations of time ; and thus, of the innumerable figures that once ornamented the interior of the Rameswar, there are few that preserve sufficient of their original features, or characteristics, to allow of identification with the heroes and deities of the Hindoo pantheon. The subject of the design that occupies the greater portion of the wall, is, however, believed to refer to the nuptials of the gods, in which, among other incidents, dances and sacrifices were important features, as they afterwards became with the Greeks, and people of other nations, upon similar occasions.

SKELETON GROUP IN THE RAMESWAR.

THE singular collection of skeleton figures represented in the accompanying plate, occupies a recess of the temple on the right-hand side of the entrance, and forms a striking contrast to the joyous character of the groups in each of the other compartments or recesses. Of this design, it will be seen the principal figures are represented as skeletons, with two children of the same description clinging to their fleshless limbs. In the rear, and on both sides of the skeleton group, are human figures of various proportions, and the background is beautifully filled up with foliage and clusters of fruit, separated by a mound of earth from the chief figures, who appear to have been the victims of famine. Various theories have been from time to time advanced, as to the history supposed to be connected with this singular and repulsive group ; one of which suggests that it commemorates the guilt and punishment of a wicked family, who plundered the temples, and having enriched themselves with the pillage of the gods, and the hardly-gathered earnings wrung from the people, hoarded their ill-gotten wealth, and thus provoked the vengeance of heaven, which descended upon them in the deprivation of food and wasting of their bodies, by which they became a warning and terror to future evil-doers—besides the famine to which they were doomed in the midst of their abundance ; and while in a helpless state from long fasting and grief, they had further the ineffable misery of seeing their ill-gotten wealth carried away before their eyes, without power to prevent it. One of the plunderers is seen in the left corner of the upper part of the recess, as in the act of running off with a bag of gold ; while others, on a level with the miserable family, are contemplating their sufferings. Such is one version of the traditionary history attached to the skeleton group of Rameswar. Another refers to the incident represented as being connected with a sacrifice at a festival, in which the Now Ratree, or Hindoo Fates—who are exhibited in the persons of seven females, sculptured in an adjoining compartment—are engaged ; and that the central figure, the father of a starving family, is selling his wife and children for the purpose. This version hardly appears reconcilable with the presence of Cama, the Hindoo god of love ; who, in his person and attributes, appears on the right of the group, and whose presence could hardly be compatible with such a disposition of a wife and children. However wide either of these traditions may fall from the intention of the artist by whom these singular sculptures were wrought from the living rock, there is nothing now by which light can be thrown upon their history ; and visitors to Ellora are generally more inclined to wonder at the skill of the workman, than to penetrate the mists that obscure the precise meaning of his design. Moreover, there is a degree of repulsiveness in the idea thus embodied (whatever may have been its origin, or the actual meaning of the sculptor), that combines, with the surrounding gloom, and the mysterious accessories of the cavern itself, to prevent individuals of mere ordinary nerve from dwelling upon a subject so hideous in conception and ghastly in effect.

DHER WARRA—ELLORA.

At the southern extremity of the excavations of this wonderful mountain, the mighty works of Ellora are terminated by a large cave temple, less richly ornamented than others of the series, but still very imposing from its extent, and the elegance and number of the columns, by which on either side it is supported.

The temple is said by the Brahmins to have been originally constructed for, and appropriated to, the religious observances of the Dhairs, or Sweepers—an impure caste, with whom it was contamination to hold intercourse. In consequence, the native prejudice is so great against the Dher Warra, that the Brahmin guides not only refuse to enter it themselves, but remonstrate with European visitants on the degradation which *they* also must incur in treading the polluted area. Fortunately, European prejudices do not incline in the same direction as those of Hindoo fanatics; and thus have many of the finest remains of the architectural treasures of ancient India become familiarised to us, and to the civilised western world.

The "Dher Warra," both as a name and in its supposed connection with the Dhairs, is a fable of comparatively modern origin, as, like many others of the cave temples of Ellora, it bears every indication of having been a temple of Boodh, whose statue and attributes appear here in precisely the same manner as in the Biskurina and other acknowledged Boodhist temples. The principal chamber or hall of the Dher Warra—in which are enshrined the images of the deity and his attendants, with their various symbols of power—is about 100 feet in length, from the entrance to the recesses at the opposite end; the width of the chamber, exclusive of recesses on either side for the Lingam, being about forty feet. The walls of this temple are not so abundantly enriched with sculpture as are those of others in the mountain series, and the pillars which support the roof are slighter, but more elegant, than those seen in the other caves: there is also a peculiarity in the arrangement of the area of the temple, that is not observable in any other; namely, two platforms of stone slightly elevated from the ground, and extending parallel to each other, from the entrance, to the steps of the shrine at the farther extremity of the cavern. Of the purpose for which these elevations were constructed, nothing is known beyond conjecture, which has pointed to them as intended for seats for the convenience of students, scribes, or the vendors of merchandise; the latter supposition being hardly tenable, from the fact of the rigid care with which the Hindoo and Boodhist temples were preserved from contamination—an evil that could not have been avoided if the place was resorted to for purposes of traffic. Moreover, there is no similar construction in the area of the other cave temples. A wide and level passage is formed by these platforms to the foot of the shrine, in which the idol still remains.

The front of this cave is open for its whole breadth; and, during the rainy season, a mountain torrent pours from above over the face of it like a small river, upon the plain below, forming in its descent a crystal curtain before the temple, behind which it would be hazardous to venture, even if the altitude could be reached in safety at such a period. Through the prejudices of the Ellora Brahmins and neighbouring villagers, this fine cavern has been abandoned to neglect, and its uninterrupted quiet has rendered it a favourite asylum for cattle and goats. The dirt occasioned by these animals, and the multitude of all sorts of insects and vermin attracted to the place by them, may perhaps partly have given occasion for the ill-repute into which the cave has fallen.

With the Dher Warra, our descriptive views of the antiquities of Ellora terminate. The solemn loneliness of these caves, their wild seclusion on the mountain side, remote from the populous resorts of man, and the beauty and grandeur which meet the eye on every side, and fill the mind with wonder, will amply compensate the pilgrim to Ellora for the fatigue and difficulties he has to encounter. Unfortunately the gratification can be but partial; for the natural curiosity awakened can never be satisfied. There is no clue to guide us through the labyrinths of thought opened by these sublime relics of long-departed ages. If we turn from the numberless subjects of doubt and difficulty, which the most accomplished of Oriental scholars have vainly endeavoured to elucidate, to the

human hands which wrought the marvels we see around, the attempt is equally fruitless. Their history is not less obscure than are the traditions of the ages that immediately succeeded chaos.

The absence at Ellora of that religious veneration which the Hindoos are so prone to show to the objects of their idolatry, is also unaccounted for: nor can any one presume to guess why these mighty and mysterious shrines have been abandoned by the multitudes who still offer adoration in other places to the same deities, whose effigies are here unreverenced in the most wonderful of their temples.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that when the Mohammedan emperor, Aurungzebe, visited these caves, shortly after his acquisition of the country, he daringly, and with a view to insult the people whom he had conquered, sought to destroy one of the mountain temples (Keylas) by breaking down some of the massive columns that support the roof, on pretence of trying the power of the Hindoo god to protect his own temples. Finding, after this daring effort, that no part of the superincumbent rock gave way, the tempter desisted, but gave orders to deface the sculptures and painted roof of the temple, and its shrines, by filling the chambers with straw and setting fire to it. The blackness of the sculpture in various places, and the discolouration of the roofs of many of the chambers, are attributed to this cause; and it is not impossible, that the abandonment of the temples by the people, may have been occasioned by the desecration wantonly perpetrated by the followers of the conqueror.

A SUTTEE.

Nothing more strongly marks the state of society among nations than the condition of their females. Among all barbarous tribes they are absolute slaves; but, as civilisation advances, they are gradually elevated to their proper rank as the fairest work of creation. Scarcely any state can be more degrading and dependent than that of women among the Hindoos. They have no choice in their own destiny, for they are entirely at the disposal of their father till three years after their nuptial age; and it is one of the sacred duties of a parent to place his daughter in a situation to become a mother. If he neglects this till the time above-mentioned, he forfeits all control over her, and she is then at liberty to choose a husband for herself. When married she is immured in her husband's dwelling, excluded from all education, from religious instruction, and from the temples. Her dependence upon her husband is perpetual; and, on this point, the laws are full and minute. "By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done even in her own dwelling-place, according to her mere pleasure; in childhood, a female must be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, or her sons, a woman must never seek independence." The deference which is exacted from a wife towards her husband is boundless: if ever so ill-treated she is commanded to revere him as a superior being; and, notwithstanding so much is exacted from females, nothing can exceed the contempt with which they are treated in the sacred books, where they are scarcely ever mentioned but in connection with some degrading epithet. Polygamy is tolerated; but females are not allowed to marry a second time. A husband can dismiss a wife on numerous pretexts; but nothing can absolve a wife from her matrimonial engagement. The wife is not permitted to eat in the presence of her husband. Girls are generally married between the ages of seven and nine, but remain at their father's house for a few years, when they are taken to the house of their new master.

Marriage is considered the most important event in the life of a Hindoo; and the ceremony is generally resorted to in the months of March, April, May, and June. Among the Brahmins it occupies five days, and closes with a procession through the streets of the town or village, in which women hail the new-married couple with the

Arati—a song of rejoicing. In the course of events this melody is changed for the wail of death; for the husband is smitten, and the last trial of the wife is about to commence and find its consummation in the cruel rites of *Suttee*.

As soon as the sick man has expired, ablutions and offerings are made by way of purification, and the deceased is then dressed in his richest garments, frequently adorned with jewels and other ornaments, and laid on a kind of state-bed while the funeral pile is prepared, which generally consists of fragrant wood intermingled with spices and odoriferous flowers, and surrounded by a trench. When ready, the body is stripped of the greater part of its ornaments, and carried, by four Brahmins, to the place set apart for the funeral ceremonies; the *Dharga*, or chief of the funeral, bearing with him consecrated fire in a vessel for the purpose. Meanwhile the toilet of the, it may be young, wife is prepared in the manner enjoined by the *Bhagavata*, or sacred books, from which the subjoined passages are translated.

"Having first bathed, the widow, dressed in two clean garments, and holding some *cúsa* grass, sips water from the palm of her hand; bearing *cúsa* and *tita* on her head, she looks towards the east or north, while the Brahmana utters the mystic word, 'Om!' Bowing to *Narayana*, she next declares the *Sancalpa*, thus:—'On this month, so named, in such a *parcha*, on such a *lit-hi*, I, (naming herself and her family), that I may meet *Arundhati*, and reside in *Swarga*; that the years of my stay may be numerous as the hairs on the human body; that I may enjoy, with my husband, the felicity of heaven, and sanctify my paternal and maternal progenitors, and the ancestry of my husband's father; that, lauded by the *Apsarases*, I may be happy with my lord through the reign of the *Indras*; that expiation be made for my husband's offences, whether he have killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend—thus I ascend my husband's pile. I call on you, ye guardians of the eight regions of the world!—Sun and moon!—air, fire, ether, earth, and water!—my own soul!—*Yama*!—day, night, and twilight! and thou, conscience, bear witness—I follow my husband's corpse on the funeral pile!'

"Having repeated the *Sancalpa*, she walks thrice round the pile, while the Brahmana utters the following *Mantras*:—'Om! Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire! Immortal; not childless, nor husbandless—excellent! Let them pass into fire, whose original element is water. Om! Let these wives, pure, beautiful, commit themselves to the fire with their husbands' corpse.'

"A *Puranee Mantra* is chanted.

"With this benediction, and uttering the mystic '*nami-namah*!' she ascends the pile.

"While the prescribed ceremonies are performed by the widow, the son, or other near kinsman of the deceased, applies the first torch, with the forms directed for the funeral rites in the *Gry-Hya* (sacred books), by which his tribe is governed.

"The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse, shall equal *Arundhati*, and reside in *Swarga*. Accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in *Swarga* as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. As the snake-catcher forcibly draws the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy heavenly bliss.

"Dying with her husband, she sanctifies her maternal and paternal ancestors, and the ancestry of him to whom she gave her virginity. Such a wife, adoring her husband, enters into celestial felicity with him—greatest and most admired; lauded by the choirs of heaven, with him shall enjoy the delights of heaven, while fourteen *Indras* reign.

"Though her husband had killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime.

"The *Mantras* are adopted on the authority of the Brahmana *Purana*.

"While the pile is preparing, tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman. She is alone loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's corpse. Having thus fortified her resolution, and full of affection, she completes the *Prayashita*, and ascends to *Swarga*.

"A widow, on receiving news of her husband dying in a distant country, should expeditiously burn herself; so shall she attain perfection. Should the husband die on a journey, holding his sandals to her breast, let her pass into the flames."*

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., ed. 1795.

All the ceremonies essential to this rite are prescribed in the sacred books, and especially in the *Bhagavata* and *Purana*; but many practices were introduced in Suttee, not sanctioned by the ritual. Among these innovations, a woman who declared her intention of burning, was required to give a token of her fortitude; and it was ordained, that any one who should seek to recede after the ceremony commenced, might be compelled by her relatives to complete the sacrifice: in the original rules, an alternative barely short of death was offered to the widow. For instance, the following passages from the text of *Menu*, the great Hindoo lawgiver, clearly leave it open to the wife to perform Suttee, or live in a state of perpetual widowhood:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."*

The torch having been applied to the four corners of the pile, the crowd of attendants accompanying the procession retire to a distance, leaving only the four Brahmins who have carried the bier. As the materials are dry and combustible, the fire rages; and the covering of rushes, which forms a canopy over the corpse and the victim, speedily envelop both in a sheet of flame. When all is consumed, a series of purifications follow, and the family of the deceased are permitted to eat; food being forbidden till the whole ceremony is completed.

In another portion of the sacred books referred to, as quoted in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,† the formula of Suttee is thus also described:—

"Adorned with jewels, decked with minium and other customary ornaments, with the box of minium in her hand, having made *pújá*, or adoration to the Devatas—thus reflecting, that 'this life is naught, my lord and master to me was all'—she walks round the burning pile. She bestows jewels on the Brahmins, and comforts her relations, and shows her friends the attentions of civility. While calling the sun and elements to witness, she distributes minium at pleasure; and having repeated the *Sancalpa*, proceeds into the flames. There embracing the corpse, she abandons herself to the fire, calling, 'Satya! Satya! Satya!'

"The by-standers throw on butter and wood; for this, they are taught that they acquire merit exceeding ten million fold the merits of an *aswamadha*, or other great sacrifice; but those who join in the procession from the house of the deceased to the funeral pile, for every step are rewarded as for an *aswamadha*."

The abolition of the dreadful rite of Suttee throughout the territories subject to British rule in India, has, for some years past, prevented at least the open perpetration of the diabolical act in those parts, although the hideous practice is still common in the independent states. The sacrifice might be performed in any convenient place; but the bank of a river was always selected if possible, as bathing is one of the preparatory observances enjoined to the victim.

The Suttee commemorated in the accompanying engraving, took place in the neighbourhood of Baroda, in the dominions of the Guicowar, about seventy-eight miles north-east of Surat, during the period in which Sir James Carnac was political resident at the court of Dowlah Rao Sindia. The circumstances connected with the immolation were described by Captain Grindlay, of the East India Company's service (who was present throughout the scene), as of a somewhat romantic nature, investing the sacrifice with a more than usual degree of interest. The Suttee was a young Brahminee woman from the Deccan, married to a person of her own caste, holding an appointment under one of the chiefs of the court, and absent at the time from his home. One night the death of her husband was communicated to her in a dream; and, being strongly impressed with the truth of the revelation, she became a prey to anxiety and grief. Shortly afterwards, while returning to her cottage with a pot of water upon her head (an occupation always performed by females of her class), a circumstance happened which confirmed her worst apprehensions. She had placed her necklace, the symbol of her

* Martin's *India* (Note), p. 514.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., ed. 1796.

married state, on the top of the jar, and a crow alighting, flew away with it. This dreadful omen produced a conviction amounting to perfect faith that the fatal event had taken place. Throwing down the vessel, and loosing her hair, she returned to her desolate home, declaring her intention to join her husband in the grave.

The circumstance being reported to the British resident, he immediately repaired to the house of the presumed widow, with the humane intention of dissuading her from her rash intent. Finding his efforts unavailing, he engaged the assistance of the ruling prince, who readily undertook the benevolent mission, appearing with a large retinue at the door; and when his representations failed to produce the desired effect, he surrounded the avenue with his attendants, in order to prevent the unhappy woman from flying to persons who would encourage her in her desperate resolve. Aware that the abject state of poverty to which a Hindoo widow, who can inherit nothing, is reduced upon the death of her husband, was often the real cause of Suttee, the prince generously offered the woman the means of future subsistence, urging at the same time the duties which she owed to her family, whom she would leave unprotected, and the uncertainty of the loss which she deplored. The widow remained unmoved, and unconvinced; and on being assured that she would not be permitted to ascend the fatal pile, drew a dagger from the folds of her dress, and with all the vehemence which passion could lead to fanaticism, declared that her blood—the blood of a Brahmin woman—should be upon the soul of him who offered to prevent her performing her duty to her husband. Few Indians are proof against fear of the consequences of driving an enthusiast to this act of desperation. The curse is believed to be unmitigable by any effort to expiate the crime that produced it; and thus, perceiving her determination could not be shaken, the Guicowar, with his retinue, withdrew.

“Self-sacrifice is considered so honourable among every class of Hindoos, that the widow, although rushing almost companionless to the Ghaut, was soon surrounded by thronging multitudes of kindred, friends, and spectators. She formed a small image of rice to represent the body of her husband; the pile was prepared; and, having gone through the prescribed ceremonies and ablutions, she repaired to the fatal spot (immediately behind the domed arch on the left of the engraving), and threw herself into the midst of the flames.

“The most astonishing part of the tale remains to be told. In the course of three weeks after this event, tidings arrived at Baroda of the death of the husband, which, upon inquiry, was found to have occurred at a period correspondent to the date of the wife’s dream.”

This was evidently an instance of determined and voluntary self-sacrifice; but there are numberless instances upon record, in which the cruel and inexorable rites of Suttee have been performed, when young and unwilling victims have been immolated on the funeral pile of an aged husband, despite their tears, their shrieks, and their resistance. Perhaps our wonder may be diminished at the infliction of such barbarity, when we reflect that, according to the sacred writings of the Brahmins, the crimes of the husband, however enormous, are expiated by the sacrifice of the wife; and that a natural desire on the part of his relations that he should obtain admission to paradise, would stimulate them, irrespective of all other considerations, to urge the voluntary, or, if need be, the enforced act that would open the gates to him.

Self-murder, which of course included the practice of Suttee, was suppressed by a prohibitory edict of the supreme government of India, dated the 4th of December, 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck. By this ordinance, all persons aiding and abetting Suttee, were declared liable to the penalty inflicted by the law for culpable homicide. The Brahmins, who had originated Suttee to prevent their widows remarrying, declared that it was purely a religious rite, and objected to its forcible suppression; but, with this exception, no opposition was manifested by the people under British authority. Widow-burning, however, still continues in several provinces which are not yet under the immediate control of the government of this country.

THE FORT AT ALLAHABAD.

THE city of Allahabad—capital of one of the North-Western Provinces of Hindoostan—is situated at the junction of the rivers Ganges and Jumna, 80 miles W. by N. from Benares, and 498 miles N.W. from Calcutta, in $25^{\circ} 27'$ N. lat., and $81^{\circ} 50'$ E. long. The place is supposed to occupy the site of an ancient city of the Prasii, named Palibothra, which flourished prior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. It is called by the Brahmins *Bhat Prayag* (most holy), on account of its position at the most venerated of all the confluences of rivers in Hindoostan (such confluences being declared sacred by the *Vedas*); and so great has been the repute of its sanctity, that more than 200,000 pilgrims and devotees have visited it from distant parts of India in the course of a single year, merely for the gratification of bathing in the waters that lave its walls; while, in time gone past, numbers of pilgrims have drowned themselves at the precise point of junction of the two mighty streams, in full assurance that, by so doing, they secured for themselves an eternity of happiness. The modern city was built about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the emperor Akber, and became one of his most favoured residences, being enriched by him with a number of magnificent edifices, and a fort of great extent and strength, intended as well for the imperial residence as for the protection of the surrounding territory. The city is built on the western bank of the Jumna, and on the west of the fort; but the greater portion of the now remaining edifices are of mud, and are erected on ancient foundations of substantial brick structures. Much of the soil in the immediate neighbourhood consists of materials that have been used for building purposes at some remote period, and of fragments of pottery and household vessels; at once attesting the antiquity and original magnitude of the city of Akber. Among other improvements upon its recently neglected condition, the city contains a number of new and commodious buildings, for the official purposes of the provincial government, and the residence of its chief officers and of the wealthy native and European inhabitants. It has also a government school or college, which, prior to the disturbances, was attended by 103 pupils, of whom eighty-one were Hindoos. The cantonments for the military are situated about four miles from the fort, and were generally occupied by two or more regiments of native infantry, some cavalry, and a company of artillery; but the officer in command of the whole usually resided in the fort.

Among its other institutions of importance, as the capital of a province, Allahabad possesses a permanent judicial establishment, whence periodical circuits are made through the province; and during the greater portion of the year 1858, the city was chosen by the governor-general of India, Viscount Canning, for the temporary seat of the supreme government. Some few years since, a railway had been projected from Allahabad to Cawnpore, in continuation of the Great Trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore; and a portion of this line, from Allahabad to Futtehpore, was opened with the usual formalities, by the governor-general, in 1858, under circumstances of unusual interest; the greater part of the distance traversed lying through an enemy's country, overrun with their movable columns, and the safety of the party rendering it expedient to burn down the native villages on each side of the line; while the termini, and stations between them, were protected by troops and artillery, to resist any attempt by the rebels to carry off the governor-general and his suite, while engaged in the ceremony of inaugurating the line.

The fort at Allahabad is still an imposing structure, having been preserved in excellent condition since it came into the exclusive possession of the East India Company in 1801. The walls, which are of great elevation, enclose an extent of 2,500 yards; and, with the numerous bastions and towers, are pierced for artillery. A part of the fortress is built over a cavern, or subterranean temple of the Hindoos, dedicated to the worship of Siva (the destroyer), the roof of which is supported by pillars of singular form and colossal dimensions; and within this gloomy vault, sank deep into the bosom of the earth, a portion of the mysterious rites enjoined to the pilgrims who visit the city of Allah

must be performed, before the deity of the Hindoos can be propitiated. The cavern is vast, and profoundly dark. Its actual extent is not known to the present generation of man; but it is asserted, and believed by the devotees who seek its gloomy recesses, to extend as far as Delhi—a distance of more than 400 miles; and to be infested, for the greater part of the distance, by enormous serpents and noxious reptiles. The author of the *Hand-Book for India and Egypt*, who, some few years since, ventured into the depths of this extraordinary temple of a fanatical creed (called by the natives Peebulpooree), says—"A fakir is constantly in attendance at the entrance to the cavern, who, for a small gratuity, is ready to descend with the pious devotee or inquiring traveller, and exhibit a portion of its gloomy wonders by the aid of torches; as it is only at the entrance, and one other distant locality, that the light of day penetrates the utter darkness that fills the undefined space. The passage to the great vault is, for a considerable length, not more than four feet broad by eight in height, and has been cut through an argillaceous limestone rock of chunam. As it descends, the walls and roof are seen covered with inscriptions, and grotesque and monstrous figures, with niches at intervals, containing mutilated fragments of idols, and other objects of Hindoo veneration. After gradually descending for about a hundred feet from the level of the entrance, the cavern widens out to gigantic proportions, the limits of which are obscured by the profound darkness, which the light of a few torches is unable to penetrate; but in the apparent centre of the space, the Lingam, or symbol of Mahadeo (a name of Siva), is presented to the view of his worshippers. From this hall of gloom and mystery, paths branch off in various directions, forming, in their number and intersections, a perfect labyrinth; having in their course a number of recesses piled up with the fragments of idols—silent but memorable records of the hatred and vengeance of the Moslem troops of Akber, by whom the cavern-temple and its altars were first profaned. The immense and awful vault, and its passages, are now tenanted by insects and reptiles without number; and among them are millions of cockroaches, which, attracted by the unusual light, fly around it, and settle upon the unwelcome intruders on their repose. Toads and snakes crawl and glide across the slimy paths, and appear ready to dispute the invasion of their dismal territory; while a host of bats flit about so close to the torch of the guide, that its non-extinction is surprising. All here is damp, dreary, and noisome."

The fort at Allahabad was the scene of important events connected with the sepoy mutiny of 1857. On the 5th of June, in that memorable year for India, a telegram from Sir H. Wheeler, the brigadier in command at Cawnpoor, directed the officer in charge at Allahabad to "man the fort with every serviceable European, and to make a good stand." This message, in the existing posture of affairs, was ominous of impending mischief, and was instantly attended to. The civilians at Allahabad were at once ordered into the fort, and such as were capable of service were formed into a volunteer corps, numbering, with some few invalided soldiers and staff sergeants, about a hundred men; the charge of the main gate of the fort being left to eighty men of the 6th native regiment, which, that very morning, had made a demonstration of its loyalty by waiting, unarmed, in a body upon their European officers, and, "with tears in their eyes, beseeching them to rely upon their honour and good faith." Several European merchants, and some *half-castes* in government employ, still, however, remained outside the fort, being unwilling to believe the possibility of danger to themselves personally. Some of the European officers, also, whose families were resident between the fort and the cantonments, were still without the walls of the fortress, as were others on duty at outposts. All necessary caution was used, and the usual appearance of order and subordination was presented through the day; but, as night approached, it became evident that a mutinous spirit was at work among the native troops in cantonment; and at half-past nine in the evening, while the officers were yet together in the mess-room, a bugler of the 6th regiment sounded the "assembly." The officers, imagining that some disturbance had occurred in the bazaar or neighbourhood, rushed out to learn the cause, and the foremost of them were instantly shot down. One or two others contrived to escape to the fort; but five English officers of the 6th regiment, and several young ensigns doing duty with that corps, were at once massacred by the men who, on the same morning, had besought them to rely on their fidelity! One officer of the 6th was actually pinned to the ground by bayonets, and, while yet writhing in agony, a fire was kindled on his body. The vengeance of the

infuriated sepoys did not confine itself to their officers alone: women and children, the old and the young, perished alike in their reckless thirst for blood. More than fifty Europeans fell in the first outburst of this demoniacal treachery; and to many of the females, a merciless death was the least of the fearful wrongs to which they were subjected.

One of the civilians who had taken refuge in the fort, afterwards writing of the events of that night, says—"On the alarm being sounded, we ran up to the ramparts in breathless silence. The firing without grew heavier, and we all thought the insurgents from Benares had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. 'Oh,' we said, 'those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels!' for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if a force was retiring; but before long the sad truth was known. Harwood* rode into the fort, bringing tidings that the 6th had risen, and had seized the guns. He had just escaped, and ran up to poor Alexander's camp,† who jumped on his horse, and rode up towards the lines with as many of his men as could be got ready; he was caught in an ambush by a party of sepoys lying in wait for prey, and was killed by a musket being placed to his side and blowing out his heart. His poor body was brought in late in the night; and I gave his hand a last shake, and shed tears over his last bed."

It is not the purpose here to enter upon a detail of occurrences connected with the mutiny of the 6th native regiment at Allahabad; but the following incident, as related by one of the officers who happily survived the murderous onslaught, may be recorded, as exhibiting in the conduct of a mere lad, a glorious example of heroic fortitude and Christian faith. The narrator, whose words we transcribe, says—"When the wretched 6th regiment mutinied at Allahabad, and murdered their officers, an ensign only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the water of which sustained his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree during the night, for protection from wild beasts. Poor boy! he had a high commission to fulfil before death released him from his sufferings. On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal sepoys before one of their leaders, to have the little life left in him extinguished. There he found another prisoner—a Christian catechist, formerly a Mohammedan—whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out—"Oh, my friend! come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!"

Just at this moment, the alarm of a sudden attack by Colonel Neill, with his Madras fusiliers, caused the precipitate flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned to bless the boy whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit; but the young martyr had passed beyond the reach of human sympathy—he had entered into rest.‡

LUCKNOW.

LUCKNOW, the capital of the now British province of Oude, is situated on the river Goomtee, between 26° and 27° N. lat., 95 miles north-west from Allahabad, and 280 south-by-east from Delhi. The river is navigable for boats at all seasons; and the appearance of the city from its northern bank is one of considerable magnificence, from the number and variety of splendid structures that line its river-front. Palaces, mosques, and mausolea, with their gilt roofs and rich and graceful architecture, meet the eye along a wide range of beautifully diversified ground; and the tapering pinnacles and swelling domes that rise amidst and above the masses of buildings in the interior, are apt

* Commanding a detachment of artillery in cantonments.

† This officer commanded a detachment of irregular cavalry.

‡ *Vide History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 256.

to excite expectations which, on nearer approach, are not realised—the greater portion of the dwellings of the inhabitants being of a very inferior description, and the streets in many parts of the town sinking from ten to twelve feet below the level of the ground through which they are constructed, being consequently both narrow and dirty. Lucknow, as a capital city, attained the meridian of its prosperity about the commencement of the present century, when its population was estimated at 300,000 persons; but its greatness had even then greatly decreased with the waning power of its rulers. The palace built by Asoph-ud-Dowlah—known as the Kaiserbagh—was reputed to be one of the most magnificent structures in India, with the exception of those built by the emperors of Delhi.

The important part taken by the city of Lucknow in the great drama of the sepoy rebellion, and the subsequent insurrection of the people of Oude, is amply chronicled in the *History of the Indian Mutiny*,* to which we refer for details of the occurrences connected with it; the immediate object of the present work being to describe such of the most important of the public buildings of the city, as the artist has contrived to group in the accompanying engraving.

The city of Lucknow, as already observed, lies on the south bank of the Goomtee, which runs nearly from north-west to south-east, all the buildings on the opposite or left bank of the river being merely suburban. After winding round buildings designated La Martinière and Dilkoocha, the river changes its course to direct south. Access to the city from the opposite bank was formerly by three bridges—namely, one of boats, another of iron, and the third of stone. The south-eastern extremity of the city is bounded by a canal, which enters the Goomtee near the Martinière; but there is no defined boundary on the south-west, west, or north-west. Previous to the revolt, between the crowded or trading part of the town and the river, a long range of palaces and gardens extended some five miles along the bank of the Goomtee, and formed a belt between it and the poorer or more dense part of the city. These structures were known to Europeans by the several names of the Secunderbagh, the Shah Nujeef, Shah Munzil, the Motee Mahal, the Kaiserbagh, the Chuttur Munzil, Furreed Buksh, the Residency inclosure, Muchee Bowun, the Great Emaumbarra, and the Moosabagh. Of these various edifices, the Kaiserbagh, or Palace of the King; the Motee Mahal, or Pearl Palace (the residence of the begums of Oude); the cupolas and minarets of the Furreed Buksh; a portion of the Residency inclosure, and of the Muchee Bowun and Emaumbarra, are represented in the accompanying engraving.

The Shah Nujeef, or Emaumbarra of Asoph-ud-Dowlah, is a model of fantastic but elegant Mohammedan architecture, and has elicited the encomiums of all who have beheld it. Lord Valentia, in the record of his travels in Hindoostan, says—"From the brilliant white of the composition, and the minute delicacy of the workmanship, an enthusiast might believe that genii had been the artificers:" and Bishop Heber expressed his admiration of the whole design, in the following unequivocal language:—"I have never seen an architectural view which pleased me more, from its richness and variety, as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principal features." The design consists of many large buildings surrounding two open courts, which are connected by three archways of lofty proportions and exquisite workmanship: in the centre of these is the tomb of the founder, guarded by soldiers of the royal household, and attended by moollahs perpetually reciting passages of the Koran. The central hall is of vast size, and magnificent in all its details, presenting a brilliant focus, from whence the wondrous beauties of the mausoleum radiate in every direction. This structure is called the King's Emaumbarra, or Imaumbarra—the name given by the sect of Moslems called Sheahs, to buildings raised by them for the celebration of the religious festival of the Mohurram. Every family of distinction has its own Emaumbarra—large or small, gorgeous or simple, as the wealth and piety of the owner may dictate; and it is generally selected as his own burial-place, and that of the most favoured of his family. It must be confessed that the beauty of the design and workmanship employed upon the Shah Nujeef is materially diminished, upon close examination, by the poverty of the materials used, which are chiefly brick, coated with chunam, or clay cement. The Roumee Durwaza, or Gate of the Sultan—a beautiful structure, with an elaborately-decorated arch in

* Vol. i., pp. 51; 181: vol. ii., pp. 1; 78; 285.

the Saracenic style of architecture—is in close proximity to the Shah Nujeeb, and shares the admiration which that building, with its accessories and combinations of Moslem minarets and Hindoo cupolas and domes, never fails to elicit.

Another building in Lucknow, well entitled to notice (previous to the revolt), was the Mosque of Saadut Ali, one of the former rulers of Oude—the lofty dome of which was a remarkable object from all parts of the city. Of the Kaiserbagh, or King's Palace, we have elsewhere spoken; but the following passage from a recent work on Oude will not be inappropriate here. The author, who is represented to be an Englishman in the service of the king of Oude in 1834, in speaking of the royal residence, says—"The great extent of the buildings generally called 'the King's Palace,' surprised me in the first instance. It is not properly a palace, but a continuation of palaces, stretching all along the bank of the Goomtee, the river on which Lucknow is built. In this, however, the royal residence in Oude only resembles what one reads of the scraglio at Constantinople, the khan's residence at Teheran, and the imperial buildings of Peking. In all Oriental states the palaces are not so much the abode of the sovereign only, as the centre of his government—little towns, in fact, containing extensive ranges of buildings, occupied by the harem and its vast number of attendants, and containing courts, gardens, tanks, fountains, and squares, as well as the offices of the chief ministers of state."*

South-east of the city, and at a short distance from the banks of the Goomtee, is the mansion erected by Claude Martine—a Frenchman of extraordinary abilities and tact, who, from the position of a mere adventurer, advanced himself to the possession of vast wealth and power at the court of Oude. Eccentric in his tastes, and left to the unbridled indulgence of his own fancy, he designed and completed the building which has ever since claimed notoriety for its grotesque and extravagant appearance, in which all the rules of European and Asiatic architecture are set at defiance. The ornaments with which the structure is loaded, both within and without, give it the appearance of a museum of curiosities. Among the details of minutely-finished fretwork that surmounted the building, were placed enormous lions of stucco, with glaring lamps in lieu of eyes; Chinese mandarins, and female figures, with undulating heads, thronged the parapets of the terraced roof; and the whole Pantheon of the mythology of Greece and Rome, were scattered over the mansion and grounds in the most incongruous proximity to

"Fabled monsters, which the world ne'er saw."

This singular residence was solidly built of stone, and is of large dimensions: the tomb of the owner occupies the centre of the topmost story, surrounded by the extraordinary specimens of bad taste we have mentioned; but the sarcophagus containing his corpse is deposited in a lower apartment. During the lifetime of the owner he gave it the name of Constantia; but, since his death, the property came into the hands of the East India Company, who established a school or college in the building; and in memory of the extraordinary man to whom it had belonged, called it "La Martinière." During the advance of Sir Colin Campbell to the relief of the residency in November, 1857, this place was the scene of fearful conflict; and afterwards, for a short time, became the head-quarters of the army of Oude.

The Kaiserbagh was not only the most splendid of the palaces of Lucknow, but, as the residence of the king, was also the strongest as a place of defence; and it was next to the Emaumbarra, or Mosque of the Seven Emaums, the most beautiful in an architectural point of view. Both of these superb edifices were doomed to sustain the heaviest weight of the terrific assaults which, continuing from the 2d to the 16th of March, at length ended in the complete reduction of all the fortifications of the place, and the flight and dispersion of the rebel forces. An extract from one of Mr. Russell's graphic sketches of events during and after the assault by the troops under Sir Colin Campbell, will suffice to give an idea of the terrible revulsion to which the palace of the sovereigns of Oude was subjected, in the desperate struggle for its possession. He had ascended to the roof of the Emaumbarra, and says—"From this position a good view could be obtained of portions of the Kaiserbagh, the road to which was thronged with men bearing litters with the wounded. Artillerymen, sailors, and oxen, were busily employed in dragging up heavy guns and mortars to secure the new position; while troops

* Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*.

were marching rapidly towards the Kaiserbagh, or were already in the courts and streets around it. Descending from the roof, as we struggled over the masses of fallen brick-work, the traces of our sap, choked up here and there with fallen earth, were close on our left, till the sap reached a long corridor by the side of a court, which served as an excellent covered-way for our sappers. The enemy's cooking places, *lotas*, clothing, belts, broken muskets, swords, and pistols were scattered over the ground on every side; but there were not many dead visible till we reached some of the courts. The large hall of the Emaumbarra, which appeared to have been used as a sort of museum, and had contained many curious models of mosques, and fine mirrors and chandeliers, was a heap of ruin. Working our way through, we approached the Kaiserbagh, and managed to get into one of the courts through a breach in the parapet of the outer works. This court was surrounded by rooms with latticed windows, to which access was gained by means of stairs opening into the court, the strong doors of which were barred on the inside. The walls were decorated with indifferent frescoes, representing feats of arms and female dancers. On one side, the trees of a garden could be seen through venetian blinds; and there was evidence that we were near to the king's zenana, and that the buildings around us belonged to his eunuchs. We proceeded forward to the entrance of the main building. Our men were just crashing through the rooms of the palace, which were, as yet, filled with the evidence of barbaric magnificence and splendour. The Kaiserbagh cannot be described; the whole place is a series of palaces, kiosks, and mosques, all of fanciful Oriental architecture—some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected, generally, by long corridors arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls. In every room throughout the endless series there was a profusion of mirrors in ponderous gilt frames. From every ceiling hung glass chandeliers, of every age, form, colour, and design. As to the furniture, it looked, in many cases, like collections from the lumber-rooms of all the old palaces in Europe, relieved by rich carpets and sumptuous divans, by cushions covered with golden embroidery, by rich screens of Cashmere shawls, and by table-covers ponderous with pearls and gold. In some of the rooms were a few pictures in gorgeous frames; but the hand of the spoiler had been heavy among all. Those which hung out of the reach of the musket-stock and bayonet-thrust, were not safe from a bullet or the leg of a table, converted into an impromptu missile for the operation. Down came chandeliers, in a tinkling clattering rain of glass: crash followed crash, as door and window, mirror and pendule, were battered down by the excited and thoughtless victors."

The important events connected with the city and the rebellion of 1857, may be thus enumerated in order of date. The siege of the British position in Lucknow, which then consisted of the residency and the Muchee Bowun only, commenced on the 1st of July. On the 2nd of the same month, Sir Henry Lawrence, the chief commissioner of Oude, received the wound which, on the 4th, eventuated in his death. From that time until the 25th of September, when the occupants of the residency were relieved by the force under General Havelock, they had been subject to all the perils and privations of a close siege by the rebel army, under various leaders. Exposed to the calamities of war, and at times almost without the hope of rescue, the gallant band under Inglis resisted every attempt of the insurgents to force them from their position, and heroically held out until the arrival of succour. The relieving force was, however, unequal to the great task of withdrawing the wounded, and the women and children, from the shelter of their defences at the residency; and they were, in turn, also besieged from the 25th of September until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th of November. On the 22nd of that month, the whole European garrison, with the women, the wounded, and state prisoners, the king's treasure, and other property, were safely removed from the residency in the presence of the whole force of Oude, and conveyed on the way to Cawnpore, *en route* for Allahabad and Calcutta. The rebel army, commanded by the begum of Oude and the *moulvie* of Fyzabad, still held possession of Lucknow; Sir James Outram, with a considerable force, being stationed at the Alumbagh, a short distance from the city, to watch their movements, and serve as a nucleus on which to base future operations. On the 2nd of March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell again appeared before the city, which, by the 16th, was entirely in the possession of the British troops.

But Lucknow was by this time a chaos—a place of terror and desolation. The

license inevitable after the assault of a large town, had here been indulged in to a lamentable extent, and had perfected the work which the ravages of war and the consuming brand commenced. Thousands of the native inhabitants who had fled from the city on the approach of the British troops, would fain have returned to their homes, or to the ruins of them. But there were tens of thousands who were destined never again to enter the gates of the once proud city; for their king had fallen from his throne, and the palaces of their chiefs and nobles were heaps of smouldering ruins.

Simultaneously with the restoration of order in the city, arrangements were made by its conquerors for its future occupancy and necessary defence. The Muchee Bowun was selected as the key of the British military position; diverging from which, a number of wide avenues or streets were cleared through the winding lanes and masses of buildings that intervened between it and the various strategic points; such streets or avenues forming, in effect, military roads, connecting each point with the others and with the Muchee Bowun. The civil power also resumed authority, and proceeded to establish law and order. A police force was enrolled, and gradually the city subsided into a state of quietude; though it was long before confidence could be restored among the native population and their no longer indulgent masters.

VIEW OF THE PALACE AT DELHI, FROM THE RIVER; AND OF THE DEWAN KHASS.

THE engraving which accompanies this article, represents the river-front of the celebrated palace of the emperor Shah Jehan, at Delhi, as it is seen from the opposite bank of the Jumna. The palace, with its numberless courts, its various edifices and magnificent gardens, occupies an area of one square mile, and, on the land side, is protected by a lofty wall, embattled and flanked by numerous towers and bastions, and, towards the river, by a fort called Selimgurh, with which it is connected by a lofty bridge. Of the erection of the palace and its gorgeous accessories, by the emperor Shah Jehan, in 1631, mention has already been made in this work.* Of the vicissitudes of Oriental rule—under which the palace of Delhi became the abode of successive monarchs whose path to empire was traced through perfidy and blood, in the course of the comparatively short period of little more than two centuries, before it came into the hands of the British rulers of India as a spoil of war—it is unnecessary here to expatiate; but it may be observed, that it was in this palace, on the 10th of September, 1803, that Shah Alum, the last actual possessor of the once mighty throne of the Moguls, after being the sport of fortune for years, thankfully placed himself and his empire under the protection of the British commander, General Lord Lake, then engaged in a fierce war against the Mahrattas—the remorseless and inveterate enemies of the aged and afflicted monarch, whom the general, upon his entry to the palace, found seated under a small tattered canopy; “his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age and settled melancholy.” The incidents connected with the loss of sight by Shah Alum, are both interesting and extraordinary. This prince, from the time of the death of his general, Nujef Khan, in 1782, had been compelled to submit to the will of his neighbours—the Mahratta and Rohilla chiefs, as they respectively gained the ascendancy, and assumed the post of vicergerent of the Mogul empire. In 1785, Sindia, the Mahratta, became paramount; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing, of Jeypoor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan (the son of Zabila Khan, the Rohilla), to obtain possession of Delhi. This he accomplished in 1788, through the treachery of the nazir, or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of

* See p. 58.

malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being could evince towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised, to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir resolved to withhold from them even the bare necessities of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children were compelled to perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eyeballs through and through. The return of Sindia put a stop to these terrible excesses. Gholam Kadir fled, but was pursued and captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. The mutilated wretch perished on the road back to Delhi; and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant.* The annual stipend settled upon Shah Alum and his descendants, in return for the surrender of his empire, amounted to thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees (£135,000 sterling).

The palace erected by Shah Jahan, with its mosques and minarets, cupolas and towers, presented a magnificent appearance; and, in the estimation of Bishop Heber, was, except in the durability of the material of which it was constructed—namely, red granite and white marble—only inferior to Windsor Castle as an imperial residence. In order to supply water to the royal gardens, the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan was constructed, by which the waters of the Jumna, while pure and uncontaminated as they left the mountains from which they spring, were conducted for 120 miles to Delhi. During the troubles that followed the decline of the Mogul power, the canal was neglected; and when the English took possession of the city, it was found partly choked up with rubbish. It has, however, since been restored, and is now the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, and of drinkable water to its inhabitants. When, in 1820, this important object was attained, the inhabitants of the city went out in procession to meet the stream as it flowed slowly towards them, throwing flowers, ghee, sweetmeats, and other offerings into the water, and invoking blessings upon the Company's government for the boon conferred upon them.

Shah Alum expired in this palace in the year 1806, since which time the Mogul empire has been a thing of the past, and its throne a shadow. A son of the unfortunate prince succeeded, and, like his father, became, in spirit and in fact, a mere pensioner of the East India Company, by whom he was suffered to retain the nominal rank of king, and to exercise absolute power within the walls of his ancestral palace. Upon his death, in 1836, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur (the late king), ascended the titular throne, which he was permitted to occupy until a mad and hopeless infatuation led him to defy the power of the actual rulers of his empire, and precipitated him from the height to which his ambition had for a few weeks soared, into the depths of ignominious and unpitied exile.

A faint idea of the pristine magnificence of the favourite palace of the Moguls, may be obtained from the picture of it traced by Mr. Russell, who, in the spring of 1858, visited Delhi, and has described some of the most striking features of the architecture and decorations of the place. Referring to the Dewan Khass, or Imperial Hall of Audience, of which it was written in the hyperbolical language of the East—

“ — If there be Eden on earth,
It is here ! it is here ! it is here ! ”

the writer proceeds thus :—“ On emerging into the square, we saw facing us a long, low-roofed building, white and clean-looking, flat-roofed, and raised above the level of the court on an esplanade or terrace of the same material as the building itself, which we discovered to be marble. This is the Dewan Khass. It is 150 feet long and 40 in breadth; at each angle there is a graceful cupola, which, in some degree, relieves the impression of meanness suggested by the flatness of the building. There was a babbling of voices, in the English tongue, resounding from the inside. On ascending by a flight of

* Martin's *India*, vol. i., pp. 373, 374.

steps four or five feet in height, to the terrace on which the Dewan Khass is built, and looking in through the wide arched doorways, or rather between the rows of pillars on which the roof rests, we saw anything but the dazzling magnificence for which our reading had prepared us. In fact, the Hall of the Moguls was filled, not with turbaned and jewelled rajahs, Mogul guards, and Oriental splendour; but with British infantry in its least prepossessing aspect—namely, in its undress, and in its washing and purely domestic hours. From pillar to pillar, and column to column, extended the ungraceful curves of the clothes-line; and shirts, and socks, and drawers flaunted in the air in lieu of silken banners and gorgeous shawls and draperies. The hall was so obscure, that the richness of the decorations and the great beauty of the interior were not visible until the eye became accustomed to the darkness. The magnificent pavement had been taken up and destroyed, and the hand of the spoiler had been busied on the columns and walls of the building; but still, above and around one could see the solid marble worked as though it had been wax, and its surface inlaid with the richest, most profuse and fanciful, and exquisite designs in foliage and arabesque; the fruits and flowers being represented by sections of gems—such as amethysts, cornelian, bloodstone, garnet, topaz, and various-coloured crystals set in the brasswork of the tracery with which the entire place is covered. Every one of the columns are thus decorated and covered with inscriptions from the Koran, and the walls have the appearance of some rich work from the loom, in which a brilliant pattern is woven on a pure white ground, the tracery of rare and cunning artists. When the hall was cleaned and lighted up, and when its greatest ornament, the Takt Taous, or Peacock Throne (constructed for the emperor Shah Jehan, at a cost of thirty millions sterling), and the great crystal chair of state, were in the midst, the *coup d'œil* must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful.” The soldiers were expert at picking out the stones from the decorations of the Dewan Khass, with their bayonets, until forbidden to do so. The crystal chair is still in existence, and was forwarded to England as a trophy of conquest; but the peacock throne had been carried off by Nadir Shah, after his invasion of Hindoostan in 1739. This costly work of art, which was framed so as to be easily taken to pieces and reconstructed, was ascended by steps of silver, at the summit of which rose a massive seat of pure gold, with a canopy of the same metal inlaid with jewels. The chief feature of the design was a peacock with its tail spread, the natural colours being represented by pure gems; a vine also was introduced in the design, the leaves and fruit of which were of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls. From the spoil taken off by the conqueror, a portable tent was constructed for his use, the outside covered with scarlet broadcloth, and the inside with violet-coloured satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massive gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Adil Shah, the nephew and successor of the captor. In its entirety the value must have been prodigious.

VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL STREET—AGRA.

THE chowk, or principal street of the capital of the province of Agra,* is an exception to the general rule of street architecture in the cities of the East, inasmuch as it is of sufficient width to admit the passage of carriages and other vehicles; a convenience rarely met with in other large towns of India. The accompanying view represents this avenue as it appears during the business hours of the day, when the chowk is teeming with life and activity, and the merchants and shopkeepers of the city display their wares to the best advantage. The style of shop architecture is in no way distinguished

* See page 50.

from that adopted in other Oriental cities, being simply stalls, open in front, and screened from the sun by blinds and awnings of every diversity of colour and pattern; which, combined with the variety of merchandise displayed, and the picturesque costumes of the people, present a brilliant and interesting *coup d'œil*, that can hardly be described without the aid of colours. The houses in Agra are, as will be seen by the engraving, generally of lofty proportions, and, for the most part, are built of stone. With the exception of the principal street, the thoroughfares are gloomy and dirty, and are also so narrow, that persons riding in the native carriages, may easily touch the walls on either side with their hands as they pass. It has already been observed,* that the city contains several palaces, besides public baths, caravanserais, and mosques; but most of the principal edifices of the Mohammedan era have long been in a state of progressive decay. Since, however, the city has been in the possession of the English, much has been done to repair the injuries inflicted by the ravages of time and conquest, and large sums have been expended by the government on public works—including courts for the administration of justice; depositories for the records of the province; revenue offices; a palace for the residency; a European cemetery; several bridges, and some excellent roads: on one of the latter of which, leading from Agra to Bombay, a sum of thirteen lacs of rupees, or £130,000 sterling, had been expended up to November, 1847. The city having been selected for the seat of government for the North-West Provinces, a large European community has settled there and in its vicinity, between the fort and the cantonments; and at one period, it was in contemplation to make Agra the seat of the supreme government for the whole of India.

The terrible events of 1857 did not leave the favourite city of Akber unscathed by their desolating influences. Startled from its tranquillity by the sullen indications of an impending storm, the European inhabitants, so early as the 24th of May, were first awakened to the dangers that were gathering round them, by a succession of incendiary fires, of which the men belonging to a native regiment in cantonment were believed to be the cause; the object being to occupy the attention of the few European troops at the station in extinguishing the flames, while they (the native soldiers) would fall upon and massacre the defenceless inhabitants, and, after plundering and destroying their dwellings, march off and join their brethren in revolt at Delhi. This plan was happily frustrated by the timely arrival of a detachment of English troops, by whom the two native regiments (44th and 67th) were deprived of their arms; a proceeding they resented by immediately deserting in a body, but without, at the time, attempting to perpetrate further mischief than the fires alluded to.

The quiet that followed the desertion of the mutinous regiments was not of very long duration. On the 23rd of June, the native guard at the gaol, in which about 4,000 offenders, of various degrees of criminality, were then confined, also deserted its post; and two nights subsequently the gaol was discovered to be on fire. Every measure that could be resorted to for securing the safety of the place was at once adopted, and the whole of the women and children were collected in the fort for protection; but the anxiety of the European residents became indescribable.

At length, on the 5th of July, a rebel band, estimated altogether to amount to about 9,000 men of all arms, was reported to be approaching the city; and a force, consisting of a few soldiers of the 3rd European regiment, the civil militia, and some volunteers, numbering altogether about 500 men, marched out, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele, to oppose their progress. They were met near the village of Shahgunge, about four miles from Agra, and a conflict ensued; but owing to a deficiency of ammunition, and other causes, the British force was compelled to retire from the field, closely followed by the rebels to the very gate of the fort; which was scarcely closed, before the cavalry of the enemy swept past on their way to the town and cantonments, which they entered and took possession of. Their first act was to liberate the prisoners in the gaol; who, being in turn joined by the budmashes and rabble of the place, the work of pillage and wanton destruction commenced. The bungalows of the European families, and of natives in government employ, were speedily in flames; the houses of the merchants, as well native as European, were pillaged and set on fire; the very doors and windows of several of them were torn out and shattered into splinters, leaving nothing but the bare brick walls.

* See pages 50, 51.

Property was strewn about the streets in all directions, and the chowk was rendered impassable by the heaps of plunder wantonly ravaged from the inhabitants, and destroyed. The total loss upon this occasion was afterwards estimated at ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling. While this havoc was raging in the city, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected in time to seek shelter in the fort, were savagely murdered. A letter from one of the European officers in the fort on the 19th of the month, says—"Here we are, shut up in this wretched place since the 5th. There are about 4,500 men, women, and children in here now, and they are well packed. As soon as we get help we will go out. The rebels have burnt and plundered all the cantonments and civil lines, and you never saw such a blaze as it was. They killed a great many trying to come into the fort, stripped them naked, and cut their heads off; and women and children are lying about the roads."*

In this fort the Europeans of Agra continued closely invested by the rebels, until relieved by an English force, under Brigadier-general Greathed, on the 10th of October, 1857, when a decisive battle was fought, and the enemy, whose force consisted altogether of about 7,000 men, with from fifteen to eighteen guns, was, after an obstinate engagement, completely defeated, and fled, being pursued and cut down for more than ten miles on their route. Their loss upon this occasion was calculated at 1,000 men, as no prisoners were taken, and none were merely wounded.

TOMB OF ELMAD-UD-DOWLAH—AGRA.

THE subject of the accompanying engraving presents one of the most beautiful, as it is also, from its incidents, one of the most interesting, specimens of Mohammedan architecture to be met with even in a city so replete with artistic triumphs as was the once imperial Agra—the creation of the renowned Akber, and the favourite resort of himself and the nobles of his court.

The history of this celebrated tomb, which stands in the midst of a dense forest near the Jahara Bang—once a garden-seat of the emperor Akber, and since a place of recreation for the population of the town—is so closely connected with that of the famous Nour Jehan (the favourite wife of Jehangeer), that a reference to the latter will not be out of place in a description of the work of her own filial devotion. The tomb itself has already been briefly noticed in a former part of this work, as one of the most chaste and beautiful specimens of architecture that the Moguls have left as testimonials of their rule. The building, rising from a broad platform, is of marble, of a quadrangular shape, flanked by octagonal towers, which are surmounted by cupolas, on a series of open columns. From the centre of the roof of the main building springs a small tomb-like structure, elaborately carved and decorated, the corners of the roof terminating in golden spires. Immediately below this, on the floor of the hall, is the tomb enclosing the body of Elmad-ud-Dowlah, father of Nour Jehan, by whose orders the fairy pile was raised. Interiorly and exteriorly, the building is covered, as with beautiful lace, by lattice-work, delicately wrought in marble, covered with foliage and flowers, and intermingled with scrolls bearing passages from the Koran. Every inch of the surface of the mausoleum is thus enriched; and all that Oriental art could suggest, or genius execute, in the completion of the structure, was devoted to its adornment. The original idea of the pious daughter by whom it was raised, was to construct the shrine of her father of solid silver; and she was only diverted from her purpose by the assurance that, if marble was not equally costly, it was certain to be more durable, and less likely to attract the cupidity of after-ages.

The life of Nour Jehan was an extraordinary one. Gheias, a Persian of good ancestry, but of reduced means, was driven, at the latter end of the sixteenth century, to

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 551–559.

seek subsistence by emigrating from his native country to India, with his wife and children. Directly after reaching Candahar, on his way, a daughter was born to the afflicted family; and being worn down with fatigue and privation, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which an approaching caravan would pass. The expedient succeeded. A rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child; relieved the distress of its parents; and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, he took them under his protection, and procured for them suitable employment. Gheias in a short time attracted the notice of Akber, with whom he found favour, and was advanced to a position of trust and honour. His wife, herself of noble lineage, frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose beauty captivated Prince Selim, the heir-apparent. Akber being informed of the attachment, commanded that the girl should be at once given in marriage to Sheer Afghan—a young Persian distinguished for his bravery, to whom the emperor gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he was commanded to proceed with his young bride. Shortly after the accession of Selim, who had assumed the name of Jehangeer, he took occasion to intimate to the viceroy of Bengal his desire to obtain possession of the beautiful creature who, by his father's command, had been given to the arms of another. Endeavours were used to announce the emperor's wish to Sheer Afghan without arousing his resentment; but the latter, upon the first intimation of the design against his honour, threw up the command with which he was entrusted, and laid aside his arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. Repeated attempts were then made to assassinate him; and at length, at a compulsory interview with the viceroy (where he found himself betrayed), he was murdered; but not until he had sold his life dearly—having killed the viceroy and several of his attendants before he fell covered with wounds. His young wife was then seized and conveyed to the harem of the royal lover; but, either from some feeling of compunction on his part, or from the aversion she naturally felt to the murderer of her husband, she was allowed, during four years, to remain unnoticed in the seraglio. The passion of the emperor at length revived—he sought his captive, and, in the ardour of his affection, made her his wife, bestowing upon her, by special edict, the title of empress, and styling her first *Nour Mahal* (the Light of the Harem), and afterwards *Nour Jehan* (the Light of the World). Her influence thenceforth became unbounded. Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of an Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister, and assumed the name of Elmad-ud-Dowlah; her brother, Asuf Khan, was appointed to a station of high dignity; and in every affair in which she took an interest, the will of Nour Jehan was law, which no one dared dispute. The legislative ability of Elmad-ud-Dowlah soon produced beneficial results in public affairs; his modest yet manly bearing conciliated the nobility, who learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. The empress Nour Jehan found delight in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and, by her skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court, while she reduced its expenditure. As an instance of her practical mind, it may be observed, that the mode of preparing the famous *atta* of roses is generally attributed in India to this empress.

The life of Nour Jehan was chequered by vicissitudes, although she died surrounded with honours; and her fidelity to him who had raised her to a throne was most devoted. Upon an occasion of revolt the emperor had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and was conveyed a prisoner to the camp of the insurgents. Upon Nour Jehan learning the fact, she put on a disguise, repaired to the adherents of the emperor in the field, and set on foot vigorous measures for his rescue. To effect this, it was necessary to cross the river by a ford, the bridge having been destroyed. Rockets, balls, and arrows were discharged upon the royal troops as they strove to make good their passage over a dangerous shoal, full of pools, with deep water on either side; and on setting foot on the beach, they were fiercely opposed by the enemy, who drove them back into the water, sword in hand. The ford became choked with drowning horses and elephants, and a frightful sacrifice of life ensued. The empress was among those who succeeded in effecting a landing, and at once became the special object of attack. The elephant on

which she rode was speedily surrounded; the guards were cut to pieces; and among the balls and arrows which fell thick round her howdah, one wounded the infant daughter of Prince Shehriar (youngest son of Jehangheer; who had married her daughter), and another killed her driver. The elephant, receiving a severe cut across the proboscis, dashed into the river, and for a time was carried along by the current; but, after several plunges, swam out, and safely reached the shore, where the empress was quickly surrounded by her terrified attendants, who found her engaged in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the bleeding infant.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of the emperor, determined to obtain by stratagem what was denied to valour; and she succeeded in restoring her husband to liberty and his throne: but shortly after his return to power, an attack of asthma carried him off while on his way to Cashmere, and he expired in the year 1627, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.*

With Jehangheer the star of Nour Jehan faded; the throne was occupied by a prince hostile to his father's memory, adverse to her power, and jealous of her influence; and, shortly after the accession of Shah Jehan, she was placed in a state of honourable captivity, which, however, was not of long continuance. Upon her release she was treated with the reverence due to her exalted rank, and allowed a yearly stipend of a quarter of a million sterling. Throughout her widowhood she lived quietly; abstained from all public entertainments; wore no colour but white, as a symbol of perpetual mourning; and at her death, in 1646, was buried in a tomb she had herself erected close to that of the emperor, her husband.

THE RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW.

THE palace of the chief commissioner of Oude, at Lucknow, may be considered as the centre of an extensive area, separated from the buildings of the city by an irregular wall, and enclosing a great number of edifices attached to the civil purposes of government, occupied by various official servants of the Company. Of this extensive enclosure, the dwelling of the chief commissioner formed the principal feature, and gave the name of "the Residency" to the entire locality.

The residency itself—i.e., the official dwelling of the commissioner—was, in the spring of 1857, a very extensive and even elegant brick edifice, containing a vast number of lofty and magnificently-decorated rooms: extensive verandahs, and noble porticos were among its exterior embellishments; and, besides the accommodation afforded by a ground-floor and two upper storeys, it possessed a *Tyekhana*, or excavated suite of handsome apartments, which ran under the whole superstructure, and were designed to shelter the residents at the court of Lucknow from the intense heat of the day. These apartments were well lighted and ventilated by shafts and basement windows; and the extent of ground occupied by the state residence may be imagined from the fact, that in a time of emergency, from eight hundred to a thousand persons could find accommodation within the building.

At one of the angles of the structure, an octagonal, dome-crowned tower led by a spiral staircase of noble proportions to the terraced roof, from whence an extensive and richly-diversified view of the whole city might be obtained—the residency itself being erected upon a slightly-elevated portion of the enclosure, and overtopping the buildings by which it was surrounded. On the summit of the tower mentioned, a flagstaff and signal-post was raised, by which, during the events of the subsequent siege, communication was kept up with distant posts without the city.

At the time of the breaking out of the sepoy rebellion of 1857, the residency was occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence, then chief commissioner of Oude. The painful

* Martin's *India*, vol. i., p. 121.

circumstances under which that great man, and most valuable public servant, met his death at the post of duty, are fully detailed in the *History of the Indian Mutiny*,* to which we refer the reader.

The most interesting and descriptive account of the residency at Lucknow, now extant, is presented in the following extract from *A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*, by E. L. R. Rees, a gentleman who happened to be staying in the city at the time of the outbreak, and who subsequently shared the dangers and privations of the European garrison shut up within the suddenly arranged fortifications. The graphic pen of this author thus traces the features of the residency enclosure :—

“Our intrenchments were in the form of an irregular pentagon. To the corner of the south and east side was the house of Captain Anderson, surrounded by a compound. To the south, the house faced the Cawnpoor road; to the east, a road leading to it in one direction, and to the Bailey Guard gate in another. Within the compound was a trench towards the two tolerably deep roads, with palisades within them. The house itself was defended by barricades, and, like every other place within the garrison, loopholed in all directions. It was two-storied, and had two large verandahs facing the east and west. Next to Captain Anderson’s house, and communicating by a hole in a wall, was the Cawnpoor battery, with three guns; before the platform on which the largest gun was placed, protected without by a stockade, and within by sand-bags, was a trench leading past Anderson’s compound wall.

“The next building, called Deprat’s house, had a verandah overlooking the exterior wall towards the street: this was walled up with mud about six feet high, and two and a-half thick. A sloping roof covered it, which, besides the two feet of clear space between it and the mud wall, had a number of loopholes, and other means of sight to fire from. The mud wall was continued outside of the house, leading in a straight line to the wall of the next house. This continuation of a wall was about nine feet high, and a very *cutcha* affair it was.† Time had not been given to complete it as designed, before attention was called to other defences. As it was, it protected very imperfectly a little yard with a well almost in the centre. No stockade was in front of it; and we all felt this to be a considerably weak point. Deprat’s house itself was a lower storied one, with three large rooms in it. Below it was a Tyekhana, or cellar range, having the same number of rooms as above, besides the one under the verandah. These latter apartments were, at the beginning of the siege, well stocked with stores of all kinds, and with the furniture of various persons.

“Next to us was one of the houses of the mahajuns, Shah Beharee Loll and Rugbar Dial, but now occupied as a school-house by the Martinière. The massive brick wall of the house itself needed no other protection, but it yet had a stockade of high beams before it, and was loopholed of course. The house was a corner house, being separated from the King’s Hospital, opposite its north side, by a fine road leading to the residency, past its own entrance and those leading to the Sikcha gaol and post-office on the right. Facing it was the gate of the Begum’s Kothee, leading past the left to a little road abutting on the financial commissioner’s house; on its left was the judicial commissioner’s house; and on its right the Residency Jailkhana, where formerly a guard of Captain Weston’s police were over the prisoners within. The former road was then blocked up by a stockade consisting of huge beams, and extending past the school-houses to near the wall of Deprat’s courtyard. Down this road, and between the two walls forming it, before arriving at the post-office, was a barricade formed of a mud wall, and a trench in front of it.

“Continuing our line in a southerly direction, the Daroo Shuffa (or King’s Hospital) came next. It was a very high and convenient building, now converted into the mess of the officers of the Oude force and native infantry regiments; and from its lofty and well-protected terrace, overtopping both Johannes’ house and the buildings on the Golagunge road, commanded capital positions for rifle-shooting and musketry. It was then known as the Brigade Mess, and had in its rear a parallelogram, bounded by tolerably convenient outhouses, occupied by officers and other families, and divided by another range of low pukha buildings into two large and commodious squares.

“Next in order, and almost in a direct line with the Brigade Mess, were low pukha

* Vol. ii., pp. 6, 7

† *Cutcha* signifies earthen, or imperfect work of building.

buildings, then known as the Seik Square. A sort of scaffolding was made within to enable the Seik guard and native Christians that garrisoned the place to fire from a more elevated position. Behind it, in another square, or rather parallelogram, were the artillery bullocks; and further in, a third square contained the horses of the 7th light, and of the Seik cavalry.

"A narrow lane separated the latter outpost from Gubbins' battery, for it was not then barricaded at its entrance. The only defence to the approach of the enemy up the lane was a barricade of earth, hastily thrown up, and strewed with a few brambles. The garden, in the centre of which was the house of Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner, was bounded to the south by the Golagunge road, and by the walls of a house known as Young Johannes. These were commanded by outhouses belonging to Mr. Gubbins' yard, those to the left being guarded by our Seiks, from whose roofs a low earth wall, covered with sand-bags, enabled them to fire. Those to the right, and separated by a high wall from the former, which they otherwise resembled, had in them a passage leading to a half-moon battery erected by Mr. Gubbins at his own expense, but for the cost of which he was about to be remunerated.

"This battery had at first only a 9-pounder, which, however, could play on three different points: one commanding the road between Johannes' house to that leading down to Hill's shop in the direction of the iron bridge; another, the Golagunge Bazaar; and a third, numerous little buildings to the west. Gubbins' outpost advanced out of a straight line towards the west, projecting considerably in that direction. Another battery of one gun, also a 9-pounder, faced a low garden, originally belonging to Mr. Gubbins' house, and surrounded by a low wall, behind which the enemy was afterwards wont to fire at us. The gun was next to a range of outhouses, the roofs and interior of which were occupied by our sentries. Another very narrow lane, to the west, used to lead to a thickly-peopled part of the town, which had then been mostly knocked down, but not sufficiently to prevent the enemy's occupying the ruins, and peppering at us thence, and erecting batteries against us in front. Gubbins' garrison was commanded by Major Apthorp.

"Next to Gubbins' west side were what were called the Bhoosa intrenchments, commanding a musketry fire through the loopholes all along the outhouses and walls surrounding them. In front of them were the ruins of a number of houses occupied by the enemy, in several of which they subsequently erected batteries of guns. Included in the Bhoosa intrenchments were the bullock-sheds, the butcher-yard, the slaughter-house, and a guard-house of Europeans. Behind these was the Bhoosa store (cut chaff), in what was formerly the Ball-alley (or racket-court), facing a low terrace, which also commanded the west side. Still further to the rear was Ommaney's house, protected towards the Bhoosa intrenchments, in the event of their being taken by the enemy, by a deep ditch and a hedge of cactus, and fortified, should Gubbins' outpost be carried by the rebels, by a couple of guns, intended to sweep the road leading to it and to the Seik Square.

"Between the Bhoosa intrenchments and the Bherikhana (or sheep-pen), which adjoins the former, there was an uncompleted battery, since finished, and then supplied with mortars. There was only a very weak native guard there, as the ground facing it had been in a great measure levelled, and consisted of only low ruins, and was, besides, commanded by the Bhoosa intrenchments and Gubbins' battery on one side, and the Church garrison and Innes' outpost on the other. Captain Boileau commanded these outposts.

"The churchyard was contiguous to the sheep-pen. In its centre was the church—a Gothic building, with twenty low pinnacles, then converted into a store-room for grain, and guarded by a dozen Europeans. At the gate to the east was a mortar battery, destined to shell the whole of the western and northern buildings as far as the iron and stone bridges. The victims of the former insurrection at cantonments were the first who were buried here. It had not before been used as a place of interment, but it was soon destined to be filled with heaps of the corpses of the gallant defenders of the Lucknow garrison.

"Innes' outpost—so called from having been, previously to the siege, the residence of Lieutenant M'Leod Innes, of the engineers—was separated from the churchyard by a low

mud wall, and faced to the west several very large houses, subsequently strongly fortified and filled with insurgent riflemen and matchlockmen. The house, a long, commodious lower-roomed building, had a verandah to the east, covered by a sloping pukha roof, and another to the north.

"It consisted of four large and several small rooms fronting the verandahs, and as many opposite them; in a centre room of which was a little staircase leading to the roof, and commanding through a hole in the wall a position to the west. Next there was a sort of courtyard leading to a bath-room, which projected considerably beyond the walls of the main building, in this respect resembling Gubbins' battery. From the outside, the bath-room buildings looked considerably steep. To the left or south of them were several large houses, in front of which was a pond of stagnant water, surrounded by reeds and long grass. To the right was a Mohammedan cemetery, on a very considerable elevation of natural formation, and commanding the outpost from the enemy's side. In front of the house, and in rear of the buildings already alluded to as possessed by the enemy, was an extensive low garden, then even covered with high long grass, plantain trees, and prickly brambles. A stockade protected a portion of the west side of our ground from that which we tacitly allowed to be that of the enemy. To the north an earthen wall separated the compound of Innes' house from the enemy's position, which consisted of the mound already mentioned, a number of mud huts, and two or three pukha buildings scarcely six yards off, and overtopped by a mosque opposite, but further commanded by several high buildings across the river.

"Still further on were a garden and the ruins of what had formerly been Shirf-ood-Dowlah (Jaggernath's) house and the office of the Central India Horse Company's posts, both which buildings had very wisely been levelled by our engineers. The whole of the north side of these positions was situated on the road leading along the river from the residency water-gate to the iron bridge, in a direction from east to west. Where our mud wall was broken through, two stockades of beams stopped the gaps. At the end of one of these stockades was a mud shed, with a flight of stairs leading to an upper room, known as the cock-loft, and commanding a capital position of the iron bridge, which was scarcely five hundred yards off. A little mosque, which I afterwards made my residence, was in the centre of the compound of this outpost and two or three low sheds or out-offices; a continuation of our earth wall, with stockaded gaps at intervals, formed the only separations from what the enemy could easily have traversed. It was considered a sort of neutral ground.

"Fortunately, this part was completely commanded by the Redan, the best, most strongly fortified, and most complete battery of the whole garrison, erected by Captain Fulton, one of our very best engineer officers, who deserved the greatest praise for the scientific manner in which he constructed it. The whole of the river side, and the buildings on the opposite banks, could be played on with our cannon from here; and in the event of an attack, both the north and east as well as the west sides could be swept with our grape from the two 18-pounders and 9-pounder on it. It was in the form of more than three-quarters of a circle, and was elevated considerably above the street below.

"Along the Redan to the north, in an irregular line, extending as far as the hospital, was a wall of fascines, and of earthwork, above which, and through whose loopholes formed by sand-bags, our men were able to fire with certain effect. A low trench ran within the residency compound so as to give greater shelter to the men. From without, the wall had, however, a much more formidable appearance. This line of earthwork having a battery of two guns—9-pounders—at the entrance called the Water Gate, but now blocked up by a stockade, was known as No. 1 Battery. Along the Redan, past the residency and the hospital, and as far as the Bailey Guard, was a clear space, formerly used as a garden, and bounded by a brick wall to the east, and the buildings known as the Captain's Bazaar to the north, a fine road leading past these boundaries from the Bailey Guard gate towards the iron bridge. This space, at least a thousand yards long by four hundred wide, being exceedingly low, and gradually becoming lower at the entrance opposite the upper Water Gate, formed a glacié for the intrenchments above.*

"The hospital was another extensive building, resembling the residency *par excellence*,

* The residency itself has already been described. See page 134, *ante*.

but having besides the ground-floor only one upper story, and no tyekhana below. The front rooms of the ground-floor were made use of for the officers, the interior for the men, and the back part for a dispensary. It was formerly the banqueting hall of the residents, the lower apartments having been made use of for an office. A battery of three guns, an 18-pounder, a 13-inch howitzer, and a 9-pounder, were placed between the Water Gate and hospital. The right wing of the hospital served as a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges, and fronting it was placed a battery of three mortars.

"The Bailey Guard was a continuation of the hospital, but built on ground to which one had to descend considerably. A portion of it was used as a store-room, another as the treasury, a part as an office, and the remainder as the barracks of the native soldiers who guarded this place, commanded by Lieutenant Aitkins. Having on its left only the brick wall surrounding the neutral space of the residency garden, already spoken of, it was by no means a strong position. To the right of these buildings was the Bailey Guard, *par malheur*, the guard-room of the sepoys formerly guarding the residency, but, being without our boundaries, unapproachable by either ourselves or the enemy. The gateway to the right was lofty, and a fine piece of architecture. The gate was, however, to be blocked up with earth, and in the event of an entrance being forced, two 9-pounders, and an 8-inch howitzer between them, could shower grape and canister into the assailants.

"Dr. Fayrer's house, like the Bailey Guard, facing the east, was also commanded by the clock-tower of the Furreed Buksh palace, and the out-offices of the Tehree Kothee and Nakarkhana. It was a fine and commodious lower-roomed house, raised on a considerable elevation, with a terrace, whence there was excellent rifle-shooting. It was commanded by Captain Weston and Dr. Fayrer, who is a first-rate shot, and has sent many a sepoy to answer for his sins in another world. A 9-pounder, loaded with grape, was placed in a north-eastern direction, to command the Bailey Guard gateway, if possible.

"Coming out of Dr. Fayrer's house, and down the road to the left, was the civil dispensary, which, being situated between Dr. Fayrer's, the post-office, the Begum Kothee, and the gaol, was one of the safest places in the whole garrison. It had previously been a portion of the post-office.

"The post-office, during the siege, was one of the most important positions we had—commanding, as well as being commanded by, the Havilath gaol and a mosque to the right, and the clock-tower and out-offices of the Tehree Kothee to the left. It was made the barrack-room of a great portion of our soldiers, and contained two 18's and a 9-pounder pointed in different directions, and protecting in some measure the Financial Office and Sago's garrisons below. Besides these, there were three mortars playing into the Cawnpoor road, the Motee Mahal palaces, and the buildings round about the new palace and the old gaol. There was also a workshop attached to it, for the manufacture of tools and the preparation of shells and fuses. It was the head-quarters of the engineers, whose office and residence it was made, and besides offered accommodation to several families.

"The wall bounding the south side communicated, by breaches made in it, with the gaol, native hospital, school-houses, and the Cawnpoor battery, as well as with the Judicial and Anderson's garrisons.

"The Financial Office outpost, a large two-storied house, was, like Sago's garrison, at first not intended to be within the line of our defences, and was only retained on account of the positions being most probably untenable by the enemy, since they did not command any part of the residency houses, which overtop them, at the same time that they were useful in repelling advances made from the positions of the rebels on a level with it. It was barricaded on all sides with furniture and boxes within, but the out-offices and gateway were apparently very weak. The house itself was large and extensive, and had two verandahs, both well barricaded. It communicated with the residency through the post-office, and was directly below Dr. Fayrer's house. Captain Sanders, of the 13th, commanded this outpost with great ability and courage.

"Sago's outpost, a lower-roomed and comparatively rather small building, was contiguous, being only separated by a wall from it. Both these outposts, during the siege up to the arrival of the first reinforcements, were particularly dangerous; and their

gallant garrisons deserved particular praise for the brave defence they made. Previous to the siege it was the residence of Mrs. Sago, the mistress of a charity-school. Both this and the Financial Office garrison were commanded, not only by those opposite the post-office and Fayer's battery, but also by a large building known as Azimoolah's Kothee, and a small brick building formerly used as a gambling-house by the Lucknow shodas.*

"A narrow passage, which during the siege proved fatal to many a poor fellow, led up to the judicial office, an extensive upper-roomed house, commanded by Captain Germon, 13th native infantry, situated between Anderson's and the post-office garrisons, and also a very important position, greatly exposed to the enemy's fire from the east, and from a high turret of Johannes' house to the south. It had, in the king's time, been the residence of the late well-known Mr. George Beechey. A wall of fascines and earth protected it from the road-side.

"The gaol, a very fine, airy, and lofty quadrangular building, divided into four equal-sized compartments, with barred doors and four openings, was surrounded by a fine square of comfortable out-offices, and situated between the Cawnpoor battery to the south, the post-office to the north, the judicial office to the right or east, and the school-houses and native hospital to the west. It was used as a barrack-room.

"The native hospital, a square of low out-offices, was situated between the school-houses, the brigade mess, the post-office and civil dispensary, and the gaol. It was a tolerably safe place.

"The Begum's Kothee†—so called from having previously been the dwelling-place of the grand-daughter of Buksh Ally, and whose mother had been Miss Walters—was one of the most extensive buildings within the whole line of our intrenchments. A lofty gateway nearly fronting the road leading to Johannes' house served as an entrance. A double range of out-offices formed a square within a square, one side of which consisted of a fine Emanbarra, or place of Mohammedan worship. Some of these buildings contained fine and lofty apartments, afterwards made use of by officers' families; others were lower-roomed cook-houses, but having very deep foundations, and appearing from the road leading past the post-office to Dr. Fayer's, to be considerably high. A fine upper-roomed house, painted green and yellow, served as the commissariat store-rooms. A mosque which, at the desire of the begum, was not made use of, was within this Kothee. The male inhabitants of the place were required, as the Begum Kothee was supposed to be pretty safe, to garrison the Bhoosa intrenchments, being in the very centre of our defences.

"Mr. Sequera's house, and the stabling next to it, then used as a cauteen and liquor store-room, were, together with the main guard-house behind, considered as forming part of the Begum Kothee, and were connected with it by a breach in a wall and several narrow passages."

The foregoing description of the residency by Mr. Rees, will be much better understood by a reference to the ground plan which accompanies his *Narrative*, as also by the coloured plan published with the *Calcutta Gazettes Extraordinary*, of December 3rd and 11th, 1857. The report of the defence of the residency of Lucknow, transmitted by Colonel Inglis to the governor-general in September, 1857, and the details of the siege and successive battles previous to the final capture of the city by the British forces under Sir Colin Campbell, in March, 1858, related in the *History of the Indian Mutiny*,‡ will supply much interesting detail in connection with the past and present state of the capital of Oude.

* Bad characters.

† Lady's house.

‡ Vol. i., pp. 40; 51; 181: vol. ii., pp. 1; 4; 16; 40—57; 78—100; 235—275.

THE HILL-FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

THE city or town of Gwalior, capital of the Mahratta state of that name, is situated at the base of a precipitous, isolated rock, about 80 miles S. from the city of Agra, and 772 N.W. of Calcutta, in $26^{\circ} 18' \text{ N. lat.}$, and $78^{\circ} 30' \text{ E. long.}$ The celebrated hill-fortress, from which its chief importance is derived, is built upon the rock mentioned, which is one mile and a-half in length, by about 300 yards wide; the elevation from the plain, at the northern extremity of the plateau, being 342 feet. The sides of the rock are precipitous and rugged, and are impossible of ascent but by ladders, or by a single approach on the north-eastern side, where it gradually dips toward the plain. Around the brink of the precipice a stone parapet is erected, within which rises the fort of the Maharajah Sindia, one of the most tried and faithful of the native princes of India.

The entrance to the enclosure within the rampart is near the north end of the east side; in the lower part by a steep road, and in the upper part by steps cut in the rock, wide enough to permit elephants to make the ascent. A high and massive wall protects the outer side of this huge staircase: seven gateways are placed at intervals along its ascent; and guns at the summit command the whole of it. Within the enclosure of an inner rampart is the citadel—an antique palace surmounted by kiosks, with six lofty round towers or bastions, connected by walls of immense thickness and extent. It has been calculated that at least 15,000 men would be requisite to garrison this fortress completely; and it has always been considered of great importance among the native chiefs. Tradition reports it to have been used as a stronghold during more than a thousand years.

Gwalior has, undoubtedly, in all ages been a military post of great importance, as well from its local peculiarity of position, as from its central situation in Hindoostan. Under the imperial domination of Akber and Aurungzebe, it was occupied as a state prison, in which obnoxious branches of the reigning family, or subjugated princes of other states, were confined until death relieved them from the thralldom of captivity. Within the limits of the fortress the royal prisoners were not debarred enjoyment, so far as it was compatible with their safe keeping; and among other expedients provided for their amusement, a numerous menagerie of lions, tigers, and other wild animals, was kept within the fort. On account of its presumed security when it first came into the possession of the Mahrattas (who also retained its use as a state prison), it was made a principal depôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores.

Upon the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, after the death of Aurungzebe, Gwalior fell into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. From him, or his descendants, it was acquired by stratagem by Sindia, the ruling chief of the Mahrattas, in 1779. From the latter it was, however, wrested in the following year by a British force under Major Popham; who, despite its repute for impregnability, escalated the scarped rock on which it stood, at daybreak on the 3rd of August, 1780, and planted the British colours on the summit of its towers. The storming party on this dangerous exploit was led by Captain Bruce, brother of the great Abyssinian traveller. Three years afterwards the fortress was restored to the rana of Gohud by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, who soon found occasion to regret the cession; and, changing his policy, sanctioned aggressive measures on the part of Sindia, which eventually again placed the important fortress in the hands of the Mahratta chief. Thus affairs continued until shortly after the commencement of the present century; when, offence having been given to the Company's government by the Sindia family, hostilities again broke out, and the power of the Mahratta received a severe check. At this time, and from the year 1794, when Madhajee Sindia died, the dominions of this important branch of the great robber tribes of India, extended from beyond Delhi on the north, to near Bombay on the south, and from the Ganges to Gujerat; a vast region, acquired and held by means as atrocious as any recorded in the history of India. War having been found inevitable to curb the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 21st of August, 1803, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them at the battle of Assaye (a fortified village

near the junction of the Kailua and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hyderabad). On this occasion, the force of Sindia and his confederates numbered 50,000 men, supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British numbered but 4,500 men; and their victory, though complete, was dearly purchased, for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded upon the field at the close of the sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain. The bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained as trophies of British valour.

After a series of engagements, the result of each being disastrous to the arms of Sindia, he sued for peace, which was granted in December, 1804, upon consideration of an immense cession of territory to the English; and shortly afterwards Bajerut Rao Sindia, the ruling chief, entered the general alliance, of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive into his capital a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be defrayed by the revenues of the territories wrested from him. The fortress of Gwalior remained in the possession of Sindia, and the city was then adopted by him as the capital of his states, and the head-quarters of the contingent force, which was commanded by British officers only.

The town of Gwalior is of considerable extent and well populated, running along the base of the eastern and northern sides of the rock on which the fortress is built. It contains a number of handsome edifices, both public and private, chiefly built of stone, which is obtained in abundance from the neighbouring hills, that form an amphitheatre round the town and rock at distances varying from one to four miles. Within the walls of the fort are large natural caverns, descending into the bowels of the hill on which it is built, by which a perpetual supply of excellent water is preserved to the inhabitants of the elevated region.

Besides this famous stronghold, there has always existed at Gwalior a stationary camp of the maharajah, called the Luskur—a poor collection of rude buildings extending to a great distance from the south-west face of the rock, and of secondary importance as regards situation or strength. It was here the greater portion of the contingent troops were stationed; and these, though in the service of a Mahratta state, consisted chiefly of Hindoostanees, like the sepoy of the Bengal army, the Mahrattas forming a very inconsiderable minority of the number. The contingent embraced all three arms of the service—infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and formed of itself a compact army.

We now turn to events connected with the sepoy mutiny of 1857, in which the Gwalior contingent took no inconsiderable part, and the result of which was highly honourable to the good faith and loyalty of the maharajah.

The disasters at Gwalior began on Sunday, the 14th of June; previously to which, however, the resident at the court of Sindia had received information which led him to believe that the contingent, which consisted of seven regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery, were thoroughly disaffected, both in the main body at Gwalior and the detachments on out-service. As a precautionary measure, all the ladies and children of the European civil and military officers were sent in from the cantonment to the residency, on the 28th of May, for protection. Some of the superior military officers, including Dr. Kirk, the superintending surgeon of the contingent, doubted the existence of danger, and declared their entire confidence in the loyalty of the troops; and, through their influence, the ladies, on the 29th and 30th, returned to their homes at the station, much to the apparent delight of the sepoy, who loudly expressed their gratification at the generous reliance thus placed on their fidelity.

Just fourteen days after this exhibition of attachment the mask fell. At nine o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of June, an alarm was given at the cantonment that the troops were in revolt! Shots were heard, and all was immediately in confusion at the bungalows of the European families; but no one at first could give any details of the outbreak. Startled by the first cry of revolt, people rushed from their houses, and each family found others in a similar state of consternation. The alarm became general as the night wore on, and, in the darkness, families were separated; ladies and children, abandoning their homes, sought hiding-places in the gardens, among the tall grass, or on house-tops and in huts. Then arose the flames from burning bungalows, and then also came gangs of sepoy, their weapons reeking with blood, and yet hunting for their prey, which could not long be concealed from their sight. Among others who fell into the

hands of the murderers were two officers, Majors Blake and Hawkins, who had been conspicuously trustful of their men; and by those men they were slain, with others, on the night of the outbreak. Dr. Kirk, with his wife and child, concealed themselves in a garden during the night; but, in the morning, they were discovered. Mrs. Kirk was robbed, but was not at the time further ill-treated: her husband was shot dead before her eyes. At this miserable sight the poor woman begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but, pointing to the corpse of her husband, they replied with some feeling—"No, we have killed you already!" Such of the Europeans as could get away escaped to Agra; and it is some mitigation of the guilt of the mutinous troops that they allowed the ladies and children to depart without ill-using them, beyond the mere act of plundering such as had any property about them.

The position of Sindia was now a very trying one. As soon as the troops of his contingent had murdered or driven away their European officers, they went to him, placed their services at his disposal, and demanded that he would lead them against the British at Agra: but he not only refused to sanction their previous outrages, but endeavoured to prevent them marching towards Agra; and in this he succeeded until an advanced period of the autumn. In September, however, they could no longer be restrained; and, on the 7th of that month, the native officers of the different corps waited upon Sindia, and demanded to be led either to Agra or Cawnpoor. As the answer to their request was not conformable to their wishes, they seized the means of conveyance, and the main body of them left Gwalior, but without offering violence to their chief.

At length, the disasters that had followed every effort of the rebellious troops when opposed to British valour, compelled them to seek some position in which, at a moment of imminent peril, they might be able to maintain themselves with some prospect of success; and Gwalior being the most important stronghold in Central India likely to be accessible to them, they turned their eyes toward it as a place of refuge in case of extremity. This view being adopted by the chiefs in revolt, the Mahratta and Rajpoot insurgents resolved that, if Sindia would not join them against the British, they would attack and dethrone him, and instal another maharajah in his place. To effect this object, the rebel forces, towards the end of May, 1858, drew near Gwalior, and were met in the field by Sindia, whose whole force then consisted of about 9,000 men and eight guns. The strength of the enemy was somewhere about 11,000 men, with twelve guns. The rebel swere led by the ranee of Jhansi, the nawab of Banda, Tantia Topce, Rao Sahib (nephew of the Nana), and other chiefs of eminence, both Mohammedan and Hindoo; and at 7 A.M. on the 1st of June, they made their appearance before the capital in order of battle. Sindia divided his army into three columns or divisions, the centre of which he commanded in person. The engagement had scarcely commenced, when the whole of the troops of Sindia, with the exception of his body-guard, went over in a body to the enemy. The contest was, however, continued till half the number of the faithful guard had fallen, when the rest fled with their master to seek safety at Agra. Directly the maharajah had thus abandoned his capital, the rebels entered it, and endeavoured to form a government of their own. They chose Nana Sahib as Peishwa or head of all the Mahratta confederacy, and appointed his nephew, Rao Sahib, chief of Gwalior, which arrangement was assented to by the disloyal troops of Sindia, as well as by those belonging to other chiefs in enmity with him. During the rebel occupation of Gwalior, the bulk of the army under the ranee of Jhansi, remained encamped in a garden called the Phoolbagh, outside the city, and all due precautions were taken to guard the approaches: the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered; the treasures of the maharajah were seized by the connivance of a treacherous servant, named Ameerschaud Batya, who had been his father's treasurer; and a formal confiscation of all the royal property was declared.

The possession of Gwalior by the rebels was not of long duration, for it was considered by the supreme government to be of the greatest importance that the daring act of its seizure should be promptly and effectually chastised. A force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, was therefore dispatched for its recovery; and so rapid were the movements of the British troops, that by the morning of the 16th of June they had reached the cantonments. A series of engagements occupied the next three days, which all ended in the discomfiture of the rebels. By the evening of the 18th they had

completely lost heart; and on finding the heights surrounding a portion of the town in the hands of the British, they threw away their arms and fled, pursued by the cavalry, which cut them down in great numbers; and, by four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, Sir Hugh Rose was master of Gwalior, to the utter dismay of the whole rebel confederacy. On the 20th, Sindia—who had been sent for from Agra for the purpose—was restored to his throne with as much of Oriental pomp as could be made available under the circumstances—the general and his staff accompanying him in procession through the streets from the camp to the palace; and it was deemed a good augury that such of the inhabitants as lined the streets seemed delighted to welcome Sindia back to his throne.

THE CITY OF DELHI.

THIS celebrated city, built on the western bank of the river Jumna, is situated in lat. 28° 43' N., long. 77° 9' E., and is distant from Allahabad 429 miles; from Calcutta 976; 880 from Bombay; and 1,295 from Madras; the three last-named being the European capitals of British India. The origin of the city is carried back by tradition to a period long anterior to the commencement of the Christian era; its existence being recorded in the *Maha Bharat*, a Hindoo poem of remote antiquity. In this epic, it is mentioned as being then under the rule of a Rajpoot line of princes, of whom the last was driven from his capital A.D. 1050. In the year 1206, the emperor Mahmood of Ghuznee, whose predecessor, Shahab-oo-deen, had carefully trained several Turki slaves for the government of kingdoms subdued by him, invested one of them, named Kootb-oo-deen, with the insignia of royalty at Delhi, and thus inaugurated the line named from the seat of their government "the Slave Kings of Delhi."* In 1299, a Mogul invasion wrought great calamities upon the people, which were increased by the tyranny of Mohammed Toghlak (a descendant of the first slave king), who having taken umbrage at the complaints of the inhabitants, determined, in 1309, to transfer the seat of his government from Delhi to Deogiri, 749 miles distant; and commanded the inhabitants of the former to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Dowlatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing.† After this, the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and again twice were compelled, on pain of death, to abandon it—all these removals being more or less attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands. In 1398, Timur the lame, or Tamerlane—designated the "Fire-brand of the Universe," and the "Apostle of Desolation"—invaded India, and, beating down all opposition, ravaged the country on his way to Delhi, which he took possession of, and put every male inhabitant over fifteen years of age to death, lest they should take part with their countrymen yet in arms against the invaders. The number of the slain upon this occasion, amounted, according to the Mohammedan writers, to more than 100,000. The city, which had been surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection, was then entered by the victor, who was there proclaimed emperor of India. While Tamerlane was engaged in celebrating a feast in commemoration of his conquest, his ferocious soldiery, regardless of the dearly purchased promise of their chief, commenced their accustomed course of rapine and plunder; upon which, the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army now rushed into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of the dead. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupefied by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and submitted, without further resistance, to the slaughter which awaited them.

* It was in the reign of Altemsh (the second of the race of the slave kings of Delhi), who succeeded to the throne in 1211, that the extraordinary column known as the Cootub Minar, near Delhi, was began to be erected.—*Vide* description, p. 59.

† See p. 86.

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds. Ferishta, the historian, declares that the amount stated by his authority so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from mentioning it. Neither does he give the number of persons of all ranks dragged into slavery; among whom were many masons and other artificers competent to the erection of a mosque, in which the sanguinary Timur, previous to his departure from the city he had desolated, offered up thanks for the punishment he had been enabled to inflict upon the inhabitants. For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned, and nearly uninhabited; and the territory belonging to it became in a short time so reduced by the ravages and aggressions of neighbouring chiefs, that it extended in one direction but twelve miles, and, in another, scarcely a mile from the city.

By the vicissitudes common to Eastern history, Delhi after some time gradually recovered its importance, and became again the capital of an extensive dominion, unaffected by the convulsions around it, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when, after a sanguinary conflict at Paniput, continued to the very walls of the city, it was surrendered to the emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Timur. From this period until the reign of Shah Jehan, which commenced in 1627, little of moment appears on record as regards Delhi; but during the lifetime of that monarch, the city was rebuilt on a magnificent plan, far surpassing the original design; and the imperial establishments being now removed thither, sumptuous edifices were built for the nobles and public offices, and Delhi became in appearance, as it had long been in rank, an imperial city.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Delhi was subject to continual alarms from the struggles for power that raged among the nobles of the court, and an attempt to subvert the authority of the emperor by setting up Abdullah Khan as a rival to the throne, in whose behalf a force was collected. The armies of Mohammed and of the pretender met between Agra and Delhi, and the latter was signally defeated and made prisoner. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph—the empress-mother receiving him at the entrance of the harem, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head as a “wave-offering” of joy and thanksgiving. The reign of Mohammed was marked by weakness, and by the open extravagance and corruption that prevailed among all classes, from the emperor downwards; while the intrigues of the Mahrattas surrounded him with a net from which, ultimately, he found it impossible to escape with life. The kingdom, weakened by incapacity and neglect, at length attracted the notice of Nadir the Persian, an adventurer who had mounted the throne of that kingdom in 1736, under the title of Nadir Shah, the “wonderful king;” and who now, at the head of a formidable army, advanced towards Delhi. After an action with the ill-commanded troops of Mohammed, who were signally defeated, and the king made prisoner, the conqueror marched into Delhi, and established himself in the royal palace, distributing his troops throughout the city, and stationing detachments in various places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet; but, on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah; and the populace immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night; and at daybreak Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the error of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and bullets from the houses soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive where they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command involving license for a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery rushed into the houses, and gave free loose to their revenge, and lust, and covetousness. The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares were blocked up with carcases; flames burst forth in all parts of the town, where the wretched inhabitants, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the enemy, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death. The shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at times the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and, from sunrise to broad noon, these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, after issuing the terrible mandate, went to a little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in

gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of his royal prisoner, Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress for the sufferings of the people at length prevailed upon the conqueror to command that the massacre should cease. In this terrible punishment, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword; while the native authors compute the number as reaching 120,000; adding, that about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, to escape outrage; some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days. The wretched survivors of this calamity were so prostrated by the blow, that they appear to have wanted energy even to perform the obsequies of the dead. It is recorded, that "in several of the Hindoo houses, where one of a family survived, he would pile thirty or forty carcasses one on the top of the other, and burn them; and so they did in the streets: notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing any of those ways. After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burnt with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of."*

The sufferings of the people of Delhi were not yet sufficient to expiate their offence. A gift was demanded by the conqueror, which absorbed from twenty-five to thirty millions sterling, exclusive of the plunder already grasped. The exaction of this enormous penalty was accompanied with excessive severity, which grew more intense as the difficulty of compliance became more apparent. Numbers of the nobility, merchants, and traders resorted to suicide, to avoid the disgrace and torture that followed the inability to furnish the amount required of them; while others perished under the cruelties inflicted. In Scott's *History of the Deccan*, the following description by an eye-witness, is quoted from a journal kept by an inhabitant of Delhi during this terrible epoch in its history:—"It was, before, a general massacre, but now a system of individual murders. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city. The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and no morning passed that whole crowds in every street and lane were not found dead. The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight. The roads were blocked up; and all attempts to leave the city were punished by mutilation of the ears or nose: until at length—the dignity of human nature being subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert."

On the 14th of April, 1739, the Persian invader quitted Delhi after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades and jewels, to an incalculable extent. The money alone was computed to exceed thirty millions sterling. Numerous elephants and camels were also taken away, with many hundreds of the most skilled workmen and artificers. The desolation of Delhi was for a time complete.

But Delhi, in its ruin, was simply a type of the universal wretchedness that prevailed in India under the sceptre of the Mogul dynasties. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is recorded in a history of Hindoostan, by a native writer (Golaum Hossein Khan), that "all prisoners of war were murdered, all suspected persons were put to the torture, and the usual punishments were impalement, flaying, and scourging. The people in certain provinces were hunted with dogs like wild beasts, and were shot for sport; the property of such as possessed anything was confiscated, and themselves strangled; no one was allowed to invite another to his house without a written permission from the vizer, or rajah of the place where he lived, and the people were constantly exposed to the most dreadful plunderings and outrages." Such, by native testimony, was the condition of Hindoostan during the latter part of the domination of the Great Moguls: it became still worse when Nadir Shah, like a torrent of fire, spread over the country; and it was yet more intensely miserable when, after the departure of that prince, India was left in the power of the Mahrattas, whose only object was plunder and devastation. Hundreds of examples may be found in the history of those times, of the whole populations of conquered cities and towns being massacred by the victors—Delhi being one only of the instances recorded; and that, as we have seen,

* Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155.

became depopulated through the savage ferocity of its Persian invader in 1739. Fifteen years after this terrible visitation, the city was again given over to pillage and slaughter by the troops of Ahmed Shah, the second in succession from Nadir the destroyer. In 1759, the Mogul power succumbed to the energy and superior tactics of the Mahrattas, who became masters of the territory of India from the Indus and Himalaya on the north, to nearly the extremity of the peninsula on the south; but the pomp and circumstance that had adorned the capital of the Moguls was now transferred to Poonah. Its fading glory did not, however, exempt it from further misfortune; and in a fearful struggle which ensued between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots in 1767, Delhi was again entered by a hostile force of the former, under Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The victors, on taking possession of the city, consummated their success by defacing its palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans. They also tore down the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees (£170,000); seized the throne and all other royal ornaments, and destroyed the male inhabitants without distinction of rank or age. The emperor Shah Alum, who succeeded Alumgeer II. upon the despoiled throne of the Moguls, had been constrained to abandon the capital and take up his residence at Allahabad, under the protection of the English; when, by a sudden revulsion of policy on the part of the Mahrattas in 1770, he was informed, that if he did not choose to accept the invitation given to him to return to his capital, his son would be placed on the throne. Acceding to this necessity, Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. From this time until his death (some thirty-six years subsequently), his life was a career of uninterrupted misery, through the tyranny of his Mahratta allies and the bad faith of the East India Company and their servants, who were alternately his protectors and his oppressors. At length, on the 10th of September, 1803, he formally surrendered himself and his empire into the hands of the Company, in return for their protection and an annual stipend of thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees,* reserving to himself the nominal title of Emperor of Delhi; and from this time until the outbreak of the revolt in May, 1857, the city of Delhi remained in the uninterrupted possession of its English masters.

The successive invasions by the Persians, the Afghans, and the Mahrattas, and the destruction that invariably followed their conquests, will account for the extensive belt of ruins which, for a distance of some twenty miles, environ the city built by Shah Jehan. For the devastation within its walls, consequent upon its storm and recapture by the British troops under General Sir Archdale Wilson, in September, 1857, we must refer to the following extracts, from details furnished by the actors in the terrible drama of retribution:†—"Without the walls the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its fury upon the ill-starred city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Munde, on the Kurnaul road, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot: the garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible struggle of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while on all sides lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch boxes, and exploded shells. Around the Subzee Munde all foliage was destroyed; the gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that proclaimed the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on either side had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north-east side of the city), the line of defences did not exhibit much traces of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the first object seen was the Mainguard, now a mass of ruins. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the

* See *ante*, p. 129.

† *Vide also History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 498; 520: vol. ii., pp. 166; 170.

ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace were mere ruins blackened by fire. A large structure, occupied as the Delhi bank at the time of the outbreak, and formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and portions of a verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that were poured upon the defenders of the place, as they retreated, street by street and house by house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The streets had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been strongly backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be opened; namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments; the Lahore gate on the west side, opposite the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the place having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege."

The assault upon the city, on the morning of the 14th of September, has been thus described:—"The signal for the rush of the two columns upon the breaches right and left of the Cashmere gate, was to be the explosion at the gate itself, by which it would be blown open. This was effected by two officers of engineers, Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, accompanied by Sergeants Smith, Carmichael, and Grierson, and Bugler Hawthorne, with ten Punjabee sappers and miners. In the performance of this hazardous duty, nearly the whole party were more or less wounded or killed. They succeeded, however, in affixing the bags of powder to the gate and blowing it open, upon which the assault was given at the breaches. The ladder parties at the head of the assaulting columns suffered greatly; but the principal loss took place after the entrance had been effected. A lodgment being thus obtained, the troops made steady progress on the 14th and two following days, occupying the open space near the church, capturing all the northern wall and gates of the city, and pushing on to and seizing the magazine, until the evening of the 16th, when a line of posts was established across the city, from the Cabool gate to the magazine; and some mortars placed in the magazine compound commenced playing upon Selimghur and the palace. The principal events on the 17th and 18th was the shelling of those edifices. Early on the morning of the 17th, the left wing of the British force was pushed forward from the magazine to the house formerly used as the Delhi bank, which commanded the great gateway of the palace opposite the Chandnee Chouk; and shortly afterwards, the posts along the whole line were advanced as far as the canal. The fire of the enemy at Selimghur was kept down by that of the British, and the resistance in front began to be less vigorous. Throughout the night, and during the whole of the 18th, the fire upon the palace and Selimghur was maintained; the fortress, in return, only firing a few shots, which did no harm. On the left, the position at the bank was strengthened; and, during the night, the sappers penetrated through the houses in their front towards the Burn bastion, which commanded the Lahore gate. During the night between the 18th and 19th, the mortar batteries played upon the portion of the city south of the palace, and bordering on the river; and with the dawn of the 19th, they were turned to the right, upon the Jumma Musjid and its vicinity. The line of posts had then been advanced almost to the Chandnee Chouk. Selimghur was silent, and parties of men, armed and disarmed, were observed crossing from it to the other side of the Jumna by the bridge of boats. The palace was said to be deserted by its inmates, and the whole of the rest of the city to be in process of evacuation. Shortly before dark, the labours of the sappers on the right being completed, the Burn bastion, mounting six guns and one mortar, was carried without loss. On the left, a field-piece, behind a breastwork in front of the great gate of the palace, still maintained a fire on the bank, but without much effect. Throughout the night that followed, a continuous mortar fire was kept up on the southern districts of the city. With daybreak on the 20th came the certainty that the protracted struggle was drawing to a close. The Lahore first, and then the Ajmere gate, with their works, being found deserted, were

occupied and secured. By noon, possession was obtained of the Jumma Musjid. The cavalry that on the previous day had been sent round to the southern face of the city to observe the enemy's camp outside the Delhi gate, returned to report that it appeared to be abandoned; and the explosion of a magazine in that direction, which had been heard early in the morning, seemed confirmatory of the report. The resistance of the mutineers in our front became less and less decided. On the left, by ten o'clock, the gun or guns in front of the palace had been taken and spiked. Then a column was formed for the palace itself. It advanced, blew open the great gates, and occupied the vast piles of building, which were found all deserted. Two hours more, and Selimghur and the bridge were taken. Nothing now remained but the south-western quarter of the town, with its wall and gates beyond the Jumma Musjid; and by five in the afternoon, this also was in the possession of the troops: nor this only, but also the abandoned camp beyond the walls. And thus, by the close of the seventh day of this arduous struggle, the labours of the gallant force were crowned with complete success. The appearance of the once rich and populous city, when the storm of fire and iron that so long had raged over its every street, at last cleared off, bore witness to the vigour with which that storm had been directed and maintained. Under one vast pile of ruins lay festering carcasses of slaughtered rebels. Perhaps no such scene had been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day when Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque of the Chandnee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants. And if the slaughter that thus attended the righteous vengeance of the British general was less extensive and promiscuous than that which followed upon the sanguinary caprice of the Persian tyrant, yet the ruin of the imperial city was more certain and complete in 1857 than it was in 1739. The excesses of Nadir were to the Mogul sovereignty as a violent but passing attack of illness to an individual, which permanently weakens his constitution, indeed, but from which, though shaken, he yet recovers. The triumph of the English struck the debilitated patient dead. He who had borne the titles of Great Mogul and King of Delhi still lived, it is true; but his sovereignty, long virtually, was now actually at an end. His palace was in the hands of his conquerors. His most inner and sacred apartments became the head-quarters of the English army. In his white marble pavilion—the Dewan Khass, or private council-chamber—was heard, on the evening of the 21st of September, 1857, a sound such as had never before broken the stillness of its early splendour or of the squalid solitude of its later days. It was the cheering with which the head-quarter staff received from the general the name of the Queen of England. Never, surely, was there a more fitting place in which to give the health of that royal lady than in the heart of the palace of the enemy who had defied her power; never a time more fitting than when the majesty of the empire had been so signally vindicated, and the massacre of so many of those who were her sisters as well as her subjects, had been in part, at least, avenged. No wonder that the cheers rang out through the marble arches into the courts and gardens of the palace; no wonder that the escort of Goorkas, loyal as gallant, caught and returned them."

The city of the Moguls was now indeed but little better than one vast and blackened ruin!—its houses and streets deserted, and its defences unmanned; while the sentence of utter demolition hovered over its shattered gates and once defiant towers. The imperial city had now not one hand uplifted in its defence.

But the terrible yet just work of retribution was carried on by British soldiers in a spirit of humanity that contrasted strongly with the practices of native warfare. The women and children found concealed or straggling in the city, were spared all harsh treatment, and were even protected from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and burning to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their own countrywomen: but they were generous as well as brave. Nor were the male inhabitants afterwards molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were peaceably allowed to quit the city upon applying for permission to do so; and even those who were suspected of treason, had the advantage of a fair trial; and when death subsequently ensued, it was because previous guilt was clearly established.

An officer, writing from the city a few days after its reduction, says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight: thirty or forty sepoy, some blown up, and others

bayoneted and shot down, were lying all about. It was the same all along the walls. No quarter was given; but they made very little defence, and retired into the city, where they again made a stand. I went into the bastions. Such a scene of ruin you never saw. Almost every gun was dismounted, or had a great piece of iron knocked out of it, and dead sepoys all around. The troops took up their quarters in the college and church; but the enemy fired on us all night. We then made a battery by the college, and commenced shelling the town and palace. We lost most of our men in the town, as they advanced too far without support, and were fired at from the walls and houses." Another officer, writing from the palace on the 28th of September, says—"It is a frightful drive from the palace to the Cashmere gate—every house rent, riven, and tottering; the church battered, and piles of rubbish on every side. Alas! the burnt European houses and deserted shops. Desolate Delhi! And yet we are told it is clearing, and much improved since the storming of the place. It has only as yet a handful of inhabitants in its great street, the Chandnee Chouk. Many miserable wretches prowl through the camp outside of the city, begging for admission at the various gates; but none are admitted whose respectability cannot be vouched for. Cartloads of balls are daily being dug out from the Moree bastion, now a shapeless battered mass. Every wall or bastion that faced our camp is in almost shapeless ruin; while the white marble pavilions of the palace stand uninjured along the Jumna's bank."

The first idea that appears to have been entertained by the government, in connection with the future state of Delhi, was that of dismantling its walls and fortifications, and leaving it without any means of again becoming a focus of rebellion. With this view, the secretary to the government of India, on the 10th of October, forwarded a despatch to General Wilson, from which the following passages are extracted:—"The governor-general in council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi. You will spare places of worship, tombs, and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up, or otherwise destroy, all fortifications; and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defence. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the points at which the work may be commenced with the best effect, and operate there." Before the above instructions had reached the British camp at Delhi, Major-general Wilson, its captor, had been compelled by ill-health and fatigue to relinquish the command of the gallant army he had led to victory; and was succeeded in his distinguished post by Major-general Penny, upon whom of course the task of demolition now devolved; but from the execution of which he was spared through the interposition of Sir John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab; who, in a letter to the governor-general of the 21st of October, wrote as follows:—"As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction until government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October; I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled, I would suggest that it be done as was the case at Lahore. We filled-in the ditches by cutting down the glacis, and lowered the walls, and dismantled the covering works in front of the gates and bastions. A wall of ten or twelve feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for police purposes. Delhi, without any walls, would be exposed to constant depredations from the Meeras and Goojurs, and other predatory races. Even such a partial demolition will cost several lacs of rupees, and take a very long time. The works at Lahore cost two lacs, and occupied upwards of two years." On the 22nd of the month, General Penny, writing to the secretary to the government, says—"In communication with the engineers, I will get everything in readiness for the destruction of the fortifications; but as the chief commissioner of the Punjab has requested the work to be stopped for a purpose, and as the delay will involve no detriment to the contemplated work, I have consented to his proposition. I solicit early instructions." The result of Sir John Lawrence's interposition was, that the fortifications of Delhi were spared.*

In some graphic sketches by the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, the following picture of Delhi is presented, as it appeared some months after the triumphant occupation of it by the avenging army. Mr. Russell, on his way from the camp of the commander-in-chief towards Simla, approached Delhi by the Cawnpoor road, and thus

* See *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 526, 527: vol. ii., pp. 182, 183.

describes the incidents of his visit to the ruins of the prostrate capital:—"After a time there rose dimly along the horizon a dark ridge, not distant, but hazy and indistinct, so that the eye could not at first distinguish the difference between the trees and cupolas, minarets and battlements, with which they were blended. Then came in sight, beneath this ridge, a wide river, on the other side of which I could now make out the castellated walls of imperial Delhi, crowned with bastion and turret, and the lofty domes of mosques and palaces just reflecting the rays of the sun. The city thus seen has a noble aspect, which becomes more impressive on a nearer approach, till the rifts, the dilapidations, and the decay along the water-face of the works are visible. The river itself protects this side of the city, and therefore the weakness of the wall towards the east is of smaller consequence; but it so happens that the part of the city defences we attacked were the strongest of the whole. However, our ground had good command of portions of the place, and we could not pick and choose. Had we attacked from the south we should have found the walls and bastions inferior in strength, and fewer advantages of position in other respects; but it was impossible to move round the city from the north, even had it been desirable to remove from the ridge, where our left flank was defended by the Jumna, and our right rested on a defensible cliff above a ravine. The river at this period of the year is rather low, and is spread in several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it forms into islands. The road conducts us to a bridge of boats, moored by bark ropes to anchors up stream, fastened to stakes in the river, and provided with apparatus to suit the rise of the waters. There are actually shaky posts for oil lamps stuck at intervals along the line of boats, and sheds of reeds are erected in the stern of each boat to give shelter from the sun. There is a sentry on each end of the bridge, and no native is allowed to pass without inquiry. The Jumna flows at the rate of two miles an hour or so, in turbid and shallow streams; but higher up it becomes deeper. Notwithstanding large offers of rewards, we never could get this bridge destroyed during the siege, and we could scarce touch it with our guns; so that we had the mortification of seeing the rebels and their convoys and supplies crossing it whenever they chose. They did not often go that way if they found it as unpleasant as I did, for the gharry shook tremendously. The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate; but before one reaches it he sees the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rising on his left out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. Although it has seen better days, this fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls, deep-set, small-eyed windows, possesses an appearance of real strength, which was honestly refreshing after a long course of stucco and compo. It is only accessible by a very lofty bridge, thrown on high arches from the city wall across the branch of the river which insulates the castle, and it is now occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet before us, pierced with loopholes, and bastioned at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge and through the Calcutta gate, which offers nothing remarkable, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous—English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and the native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every pace; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin—house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm has passed more lightly; and in an open space there stands, clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun, the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attraction, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross; and in those particulars and in the general design, affording some likelihood that the architect had not quite forgotten St. Paul's cathedral when he drew his

plan. It was pleasant to see this Christian type amid the desolation and destruction around, the intensity of which increased as we approached the Cashmere gate. Through this immortal portal we passed, and were once more outside the city walls. A few minutes' drive on a good road took the gharry up to a large house, in a castellated style, which once had been held by the enemy's pickets, and which is now the official residence of the commissioner, Mr. Saunders. It bore many marks of shot. In one of the few trees left standing in the avenue there is stuck a cannon-ball, half buried in the split trunk. The house next the commissioner's is a heap of ruins. Close at hand are traces of our advanced trenches and batteries, and on the left there is the quiet cemetery where lie the remains of the glorious soldiers who fell in the assault, and of him who was foremost among them all—who was confessedly, according to the testimony of every Indian tongue, the first soldier in India—'Nicholson.' His grave is marked by a modest slab, and he rests close to the walls of the rebellious city." * * * * *

"When the sun gave up burning the outer world for the day, and was about setting in a fiery fog, we drove out to visit the city. I followed with intense interest the course taken by the storming columns against the Cashmere gate. The battered face of the Cashmere bastion, where Nicholson, at the head of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, entered by escalade, still shows the force of our fire; but I am certain that the first feeling of every stranger must be surprise at the strength of the defences, at the height and solidity of the curtains, the formidable nature of the bastions, the depth and width of the dry ditch, the completeness of the glacis, and the security of the gates—in a word, he will be astonished to find that Delhi is not only a strong place, but that its fortifications are of very considerable strength. The glacis protects at least four-fifths of the wall, and covers the arch of the gateways. We did our best to enable Delhi to resist a siege or an assault, stored up an arsenal and magazines inside its walls, and then left it without a garrison. And so here is the Cashmere gate, flanked by guns, and with a double way, both exposed to fire; to which advanced, along a few crazy planks left by the enemy to bridge across the ditch, the storming party of her majesty's 52nd, the Kumaon battalion, and the 1st Punjabees, covered by the skirmishers of her majesty's 60th, and preceded by that small band whose deeds and whose fate are never to be forgotten—armed with unromantic powder-bags, and exposed to twofold danger of unresisting death. No vestige of the gate now remains; but the ditch is there, the cold high wall of blue stone, the shattered arch, the bastions, the long line of loopholed defences—all proclaiming how desperate the courage of the men who faced and overcame such obstacles. There, pacing to-and-fro with shouldered musket, lumpy and large-footed, and rather slovenly in gait, without any air of military smartness, according to either the French or the Prussian model—with ill-made coat, preposterous pantaloons, unseemly ankle-jacks, is the stuff out of which such men are made; and you may bet ten to one that yonder red-coated countryman of her majesty's 61st regiment, who is doing duty as sentry on the Cashmere gate, would, if occasion were, emulate the deeds of those who fell before it without one shadow of variableness or turning. Inside the gateway we pass the bullet-marked Maignard, and houses and walls split and pierced with shot, and enter upon a wide street, lined with trees, in the centre of which there is a stone aqueduct, leading to a noble open reservoir—the work, I believe, of Lord Ellenborough, who forgot in its greatness that the Jumna was not quite dry. This is the Chandnee Chouk, the main street of the city, which reminds us—oddly enough—of the Boulevards, notwithstanding the meanness of the two-storied Oriental houses, the absence of soldiers, *sergens de ville*, and of *cafés*, the presence of a turbaned crowd, and of camels and palanquins, and the open stores of odd merchandise, and shops filled with Oriental fruits and grain. Half of the houses are shut up; and judging by some of the people who looked out from the screens of the first-floors and from the verandahs, some of the present inhabitants might be dispensed with. The shops are poor enough; they are windowless and open in front, like the stalls in a Turkish bazaar. At the sight of the Burra Sahib's outriders (native troopers), the bunneahs, or shopkeepers—a sleek fat race, with shaven faces, yellow and white caste-marks on the forehead and over the eyes, dressed cleanly and amply in snow-white turbans and robes—rise from their haunches, and salaam respectfully, standing till the carriage has passed by. Diverging to the left from this street we see before us the noblest battlemented wall on which my eyes ever rested. It is the wall of the palace

of the Mogul. A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers. The gems of which the casket is so grand ought, indeed, to be rich and precious. The portal is worthy of the enclosure. Except the Victoria gate of our new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass-embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court, richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. The entrance is guarded by a soldier, who might be mistaken for a very sunburnt and savage-looking English rifleman. He is dressed in dark green, nearly black, and supposed by the military authorities to be very like foliage in hue, and therefore suitable to riflemen—like one of our brigade; but he wears a dreadful compromise between a Glengarry bonnet and a turban, made of green cloth with a red tartan border, on his head; his eyes are wide apart, his cheek-bones are high, his lips thick, his face round, like his head, and his jaws square. I don't think I ever saw Saxon or Celt or Scottish, or Irish mixture of the two, exactly the same as that man. He is, in fact, one of our Goorkas. The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard, surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrywomen were brutally murdered. But in the courtyard before us a more terrible scene was enacted. There is a dry stone tank, in which there once played a fountain, in the centre of the court. Above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety, worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who in their mad excitement forgot that Mohammed had ordered women and children to be saved from death. There is as yet no other memorial of the tragedy; but lo! '*ex ossibus ultor!*' the dungeon of the captive monarch who permitted the defilement of his palace by such deeds is close at hand—the house of Timour, the descendants of Baber, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, have fallen never to rise; smitten in the very palace of their power, which has become their dungeon. Around the very place where that innocent blood ran like water, are ranged, as grim monuments of retribution, row after row of guns taken from the enemy; our guards are in the gates; and of the many who took part in the murders it is probable few live to dread the punishment which, sooner or later, will strike them. The mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work, and doors and wood-work split, decayed, and paintless, the silence only broken by the tread of the sentry, or our own voices, rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate. But sadder still when one thought of the voices, of the cries which resounded within these walls one short year ago. It was with a sense of relief—a deep long-drawn breath—that we proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade into a courtyard paved like the former, but kept in trimmer order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some of white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding the attractions of a beautiful mosque, is the Hall of Audience—the '*Dewan Khass!*' '*.

The following extracts from letters of individuals personally engaged in the hazardous struggle which resulted in the conquest of the city, will appropriately close this brief sketch of its history. The first are from the correspondence of an officer attached to the staff, dated "Delhi, September 26th, 1857," five days subsequent to its reoccupation by British troops. The writer, after referring to some incidents of the assault, already noticed, proceeds to say—"I think those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the

* See *ante*, p. 128.

place. I am told, on very competent authority, that, from a mere artillery point of view, the place is stronger than Bhurtpoor ever was; and yet it proves that our main difficulty was inside, not outside Delhi. The sepoys permitted our heavy batteries to be approached with comparatively little opposition—breaches were speedily and well effected, and our troops got over them with loss, but without serious check. But there their task was by no means accomplished; and, street by street, the enemy contested every foot of ground, and occupied position after position with a courage and determination worthy of a better cause. In fact, we may well congratulate ourselves that we did not attempt the storm with an inferior force. There is no doubt, that on our occupation of a part of the city, our army became disorganised to a degree which was highly dangerous when the battle was but half won. Whether the collection in the part of the town which we first assaulted, of vast quantities of wine and spirits (the produce of the plunder of a long line of road on which those articles are the main staple of European commerce), was really the result of deep strategy on the part of the mutineers, I cannot say; but it does seem as if the only common bond which unites the various races fighting under our standard is a common love of liquor; and Europeans, Seiks, Goorkas, and Afghans are said to have all indulged to an extent which might have been disastrous. In truth, the days which followed the first assault were a time of great anxiety. Our progress was slow; the number of men whom we could bring into action curiously small; and the abandonment of the positions held by the enemy was, I believe, a relief to the generals, even though we did *not* exterminate the mutineers. In fact, I believe that the bridge of boats was purposely left intact by our batteries; we were well content to leave a bridge to a flying enemy. I do not think that the enemy were actually forced out by our shells. I was surprised to find how little damage was done by them. The walls of the palace are almost intact; so are by far the greater portion of the buildings inside; and it is quite clear that the chances were yet very much in favour of such as chose quietly to sit in them. In short, I fancy that our mortar batteries were by no means very strong, and not sufficient to do effectually such extensive work; but the sepoys and the king's party had both had enough of it. The fire was, no doubt, hot, and was becoming more so; so they retreated, carrying with them most of their valuables, but leaving all the heavy guns and other bulky articles. As to pursuit, the infantry was simply completely knocked up, and unfit to pursue for a single mile; and the general would not risk the mounted branch alone; so he has contented himself with securing his conquest, and the city of Delhi is completely ours. For the rest, a small party of irregular cavalry appearing at a place a few miles off, where the king's family had taken refuge, obtained possession of the persons of the king and the more important princes—making prisoner the former, killing the latter. Our position is quite secure, but we have yet taken no possession for a single mile south of the city."

The following extract is from the letter of a sergeant of the 61st regiment, whose statement was published in the *Times*, under the initials "M. B." The writer says—"On the 13th of June, an order came to Ferozepoor, where our division had been for more than a month, for the right wing of the 61st to proceed immediately to Delhi. The order reached the colonel at ten A.M., and we had to march at four in the afternoon: everybody was in confusion, trying to find out what companies would have to go. At last it was found that grenadiers Nos. 2, 3, and 7, and the light company, were to march under Colonel Jones that evening. Fancy how fatiguing it must have been to be keeping up forced marches, sometimes as much as twenty-five miles, in the middle of the summer! It was very distressing, I assure you. At all events, we arrived at Delhi on the 1st of July, and then our troubles commenced. In the first place the cholera broke out; and frightful it was to see our poor fellows dying like dogs, sometimes as many as five and six a-day. During all this time the duty was getting heavier every day. We very often went on picket without being relieved for six or seven days, and keeping up a constant firing all the time. The brutes used to come out every day, and we had to drive them up to the walls of Delhi back again. We used to lose a great many of our men that way; for as soon as we retired back to camp, the sepoys opened fire with their artillery. We were too close to them altogether; they played havoc with our poor men: but as regards fair fighting, they are the greatest cowards you ever came across. They won't stand at all; but hide behind brick walls, or get into

houses; and will never show a front. As soon as they hear a cheer from the Europeans they run away like mice. We remained till the night of the 24th of August without progressing, when an order was given out for the 61st and 1st Europeans, and some Seiks, to march at four the next morning to a place called Ruffinjar. It was given out by our spies the day before, that a large body of the sepoys had left Delhi, and proceeded to this place for the purpose of cutting off our supplies. We marched in the morning, and overtook them about four, and a good hard fight took place; but, as usual, we made the scoundrels run. Lieutenant Gabbett, of No. 2, got killed. We lost five or six men, and had several wounded. We captured thirteen guns and all their camp equipage. I forgot to mention that we were losing so many men with cholera, that we had to send to Ferozepoor for the left wing. They also came by double marches, and had to encounter a great deal of trouble on the road. They arrived at Delhi on the 14th of August. The weather was getting a little cooler, but still it was very disagreeable in tents. After they arrived, I am sorry to say, the cholera broke out as fresh as ever. We buried, in one day, nine men; you can't guess how we were situated. We hardly had men enough to relieve the pickets. Things remained that way till the siege-train arrived from Ferozepoor. We were anxiously looking for it every day. At last the artillery and big guns arrived, and then we had harder work. Then we were night after night building batteries and lying in the trenches, and the artillery were bombarding the walls of Delhi and the city day and night. We had a great many men wounded in the trenches. On the night of the 13th, when all our advanced batteries were ready for action, part of the army left camp, and advanced within a hundred yards of the walls, under cover, ready to storm the place, which we did at about daylight the next morning; the remainder of the regiments entering at other parts of the city all about the same time. We managed it beautifully, although there were a great many killed and wounded; I dare say over 1,000. The scoundrels flew in all directions. We entered the city, and halted at the church that night, sending out pickets. We remained in the church until the night of the 16th, when the 61st got the order to fall-in at three the next morning, nobody knowing what for; the colonel telling us at the same time, we had some hot work to do before we dined. We fell-in, and were told-off to four divisions, twenty-two file each—in all, 176. That was all we could muster, we had so many sick and wounded. We marched towards the magazine, stormed the breach without any noise, and got the word 'Charge!' and no doubt our boys did charge with a vengeance, shouting like madmen, and killing every one that came within our reach. I think we took the rascals by surprise, or they would not have given up the place so easily. We had two men killed, and about six wounded. After getting into the magazine, they came down by hundreds; but they could do us very little harm. We being inside and they out, the fools commenced pelting stones at us, and trying to burn down a lot of sheds that were in the place. We captured 148 guns, besides a lot of shot, shell, and ammunition. Our work was now done for that day. I am only writing about our own regiment. Other regiments were doing equally as much good as ourselves. There were the 8th, 52nd, 60th rifles, 75th, 1st and 2nd Europeans, all fighting as hard in other parts of the city; and out of all these regiments they could not form 3,000 men, the army was suffering so much from sickness. We were relieved from the magazine by the 52nd regiment, and then our regiment was divided; some went to the bank, and others to different pickets in the city. On the morning of the 20th, part of our regiment and the rifles took the palace, with very little opposition on the part of the enemy; and that finished the taking of Delhi. A royal salute was fired on the morning of the 21st of September on the walls of Delhi, in honour of the capture of the city, palace, &c. We expected to have taken the king in the palace, but he was too wide-awake for us at that time: he escaped, but he was taken by our people about thirty miles from Delhi, with his sons. They were all brought back. Two of his sons were shot the other day, and the king is now a prisoner, awaiting his trial. A European sergeant-major of the 28th native infantry was taken prisoner, trying to make his escape from Delhi. He is also awaiting his trial. He had given assistance to the sepoys after the mutiny broke out."

MAHOMED SURAJ-OO-DEEN SHAH GHAZEE, LAST KING OF DELHI.

SIX Mogul conquerors in succession sat upon the imperial throne of Delhi, each rivaling the magnificence and the power of the mighty Alexander, before whom nations were bowed as reeds before the tempest. Then came a long period of prostration and decay: the haughty lords of Asia yielded to the arms and arts of a power from the West, and gradually, during two centuries, their glories faded in the spreading lustre of its ascendancy. At length the heir of Timur and of Akber—blind, helpless, and persecuted—delivered himself a pensionary into the hands of a few Englishmen, that, under their protection, the remaining years of his existence might be spent in peace. Yet was he treated right royally by his commercial patrons; and, in a sort of mimic state, was permitted to enjoy a nominal sovereignty in his ancestral palace at the imperial city. There, surrounded by six miles of lofty and bastioned wall, a cluster of gorgeous edifices contained, while it also concealed, his sufferings and his pomp. To the last of the visionary scene, Shah Alum and his descendants were treated with considerate deference, and were saluted by British officers as the sovereigns, *de jure*, of Hindoostan. Coin was yet struck in their names; and the last of the race, although worthless—and it was thought imbecile, from age—enjoyed a royal revenue, and seemed, of all men living, the last to whom suspicion of treachery should attach. Such, in brief, was the state of the three last living descendants of the Mogul emperors, until a wild and reckless desire to exterminate the whole European race found upon the soil of India, smote with sudden madness a number of the hereditary chiefs and princes of the land who; without administrative or military genius, fancied a possibility of enthroning themselves upon ruin, and of once more rioting in the pillage and devastation of India. And so it was that the king of Delhi—instigated by a ravenous horde of dependent relatives, hounded on to his ruin by the acclaims of an excited and rebellious soldiery, and dazzled by those visions of ambition which, dimmed not by fading sight and whitened hairs, are attractive even to the brink of the grave—broke from his sworn allegiance, assumed a lurid and transient show of independence, encouraged the native levies of his protectors and ally in a ferocious rebellion to the hand that fed them, and closed the gates of Delhi against a British army. Such, in a few words, were the incidents of the first scene of the wild drama enacted before the people of India in 1857; and the enemies of the British flag in all quarters of the world, pointed to the new Mogul empire, and rejoiced at the downfall of British supremacy. But the end was yet to come; and before we refer to the consummation of that end, it will be necessary, for the elucidation of the subject, to revert to some phases of the past history of the family whose last representative is now a convict and an exile from the country in which he had enjoyed kingly honours.

On the 11th of September, 1803, the result of a battle between the Anglo-Indian forces, under the command of General Lake, and the confederated troops of the Mahratta and Rohilcund chiefs, opened the gates of Delhi to a British army, and restored to the enjoyments of sovereignty the blind and feeble representative of a once mighty dynasty, in the person of the emperor Shah Alum, who had long been the sport of fortune, and, as it were, the foot-ball of his powerful and merciless enemies the Mahrattas. From this thrall the unhappy monarch was relieved by the valour of British arms; but from that moment his independent rule became a fiction, and his empire but a name. From the 16th of October, 1803, when the final arrangement was concluded, by which the sightless descendant of the magnificent Timur placed himself and his dominions under the protection of the East India Company, until the 11th of May, 1857, Delhi became merely the capital of a territory nominally governed by a Mogul prince, but practically, and in fact, under the supreme control of a British resident, appointed by the governor-general in council. In 1806, Shah Alum escaped, by a peaceful death, from the cares of existence and the mockery of state, and was succeeded by his son Shah Akber in the kingly title, and in the enjoyment of royal honours, but still a pensioner of the Company for the means to support his dignity—an

annual grant of £100,000 being paid to him as an equivalent for his independence; out of which he was required to support the vast retinue of relations and dependents collected within the walls of the imperial residence, who altogether numbered some 12,000 persons. Notwithstanding the degraded position to which this prince had sunk as a mere pensioner on a commercial company, both Hindoos and Mussulmans throughout the vast empire that had bowed to the undisputed sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still sought from his hands the solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed robes of honour on the native chiefs upon their accession to the musnud, as tokens of his suzerainty; and more than once attempted a similar assumption of superiority upon the appointment of a governor-general of the East India Company. Until the year 1827, it is alleged, that the Company acquired no new province without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and royal firman to confirm their title. At length, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1827, this false position on both sides was corrected, by taking from the powerless occupant of a shadowy throne this last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the Company to the great padishah or ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction; and from that time Shah Akber became utterly powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the living representative, and, as such, continued to be looked up to by the descendants of the millions who had borne allegiance to the house of Timur.

Shah Akber reigned absolute within the walls of his domestic kingdom until his death in the year 1849, having for some time previous endeavoured to procure the sanction of the governor-general to his choice of a successor to the titular throne of Delhi, which he desired should be occupied by one of his younger sons, thereby setting aside the claims of the eldest-born. This arrangement was not permitted by the Company; and, consequently, upon the death of the Shah, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, became king, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This prince must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered into fragments by his connection with the sepoj revolt of 1857.

From the accession of Suraj-oo-deen in 1849, until the month of May, 1857, when the incidents occurred of which he ultimately became the victim, the king resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp within the boundaries of his palace, without exciting the notice or awakening the jealousies of the stranger race into whose hands the staff of his imperial power had passed. On the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, a party of mounted horsemen, soiled with dust and blood, and reeking with the foam of hasty flight from the massacre at Meerut, appeared beneath the walls of the palace, proclaiming that the rule of the Feringhee was at an end, and that Hindoostan was again under the independent sovereignty of its native princes, of whom the king of Delhi was chief. After a short parley, the troopers were, by the king's order, admitted within the palace, and announced to him that the whole of Hindoostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta, their capital, and other chief towns, were already in possession of the native army, which had risen against their officers; and that it only required that his majesty would unfurl the sacred standard of the Mohammedan empire, and the whole of the warlike millions of India would rally round it, and re-establish the independent throne of Timur by driving the English intruders into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. During the conference, some troops of artillery, which had also deserted from Meerut the previous night, reached the city, and, entering by the Calcutta gate near the palace, fired a royal salute in front of it. This incident decided the wavering inclinations of the aged king; and he consented to the demand of the troopers, whose numbers were increased by the accession of the native regiments in cantonment near Delhi. From that moment the sword of destruction was suspended over the head of the king, and but a short time elapsed ere it fell. Meanwhile, the soldiers exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying-point under any emergency, rushed from the presence of the infatuated monarch, to satiate their thirst for blood by the massacre of such Europeans as fell into their hands.

On Monday, the 11th of November, the Mogul standard was raised over the entrance to the palace, and Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen was proclaimed emperor of Hindoostan and king of Delhi. A throne of silver, which had been preserved in the royal treasury from the year 1843, was placed in the Dewan Khass, or Grand Hall of Audience; and there the phantom monarch took his seat, to receive the homage of his court and people. This ceremony over, the king, surrounded by the paraphernalia of Oriental pomp, amidst the salutes of artillery, the clangour of martial music, and the frantic acclamations of a tumultuous multitude, issued from the gates of his palace in royal procession through the streets of Delhi, to announce by his presence the assumption of imperial power and the restoration of Mogul independence. The cavalcade upon this occasion was led by the Prince Mirza Mogul, one of his sons, whom he had appointed to the chief command of the army. Another son, the Prince Abu Bekr, rode at the head of the body-guard of the aged simulator of imperial power, who presented himself to the gaze of the excited populace in an open chariot; his advanced years incapacitating him from any other mode of exhibiting himself. Surrounded by the members of his household, and thus attended, the king slowly proceeded through the principal streets of the city to the Jumma Musjid, where the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and the empire of Hindoostan proclaimed. His majesty's commands were thereupon issued, that the shopkeepers and inhabitants should immediately resume their ordinary avocations; and the king returned to that palace which he was destined shortly after to leave as a fugitive, and to reoccupy as a dethroned captive, whose very existence depended upon the forbearance of his rashly provoked and justly incensed enemies.

Upon the assumption of the actual sovereignty by Suraj-oo-deen, his first act was to appoint the necessary authorities for the government of the city, within which military guards were posted. The walls were strengthened and the gates secured; a number of guns were brought from the magazine and placed upon the ramparts and bastions; and native gunners were appointed to the park of artillery in Selinghur, the fort attached to the palace. The mutinous troops of the Bengal army chiefly bent their steps in the direction of Delhi; and the native force in and round the city soon became formidable. A camp of 7,000 men was collected, and stationed for the protection of the palace; the pay of the troops was augmented; and rewards were offered for the discovery of any Europeans, or of natives connected with them, that they might be put to death. The treasury belonging to the Company, which contained at the time many lacs of rupees, was removed to the palace, to enable the king to reward the troops.

A native eye-witness of the occurrences at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May, in a narrative addressed to the vakeel of a Rajpoot chief, says—"Yesterday morning (the 11th of May), some regular cavalry arriving from Meerut, seized the bridge on the Jumna, killed the toll-keeper, and robbed the till. Leaving a guard at the bridge, they proceeded to the Salempoor Chowkee, where they found an English gentleman, whom they killed, and set fire to his house. Then going under the Delhi king's palace, outside the city wall, they made proposals to the king, who told them that was no place for them, but to go into the city. Having entered the Calcutta gate, it was closed. They were preceded, on their first arrival, by ten or twelve troopers, who, on entering the Rajghat gate of the city, assured everybody that they had come, not to trouble or injure the city people in any way, but only to kill the European gentlemen, of whom they had resolved to leave none alive. About ten at night, two *pultuns* (troops of artillery) arrived from Meerut, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The next day, about three in the afternoon, the empire was proclaimed under the king of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the *Khotwallie* (chief police-station). The king's chief police officer arrived, and with him all the mutineers, horse and foot, and killed all the Europeans they met or could find. The old chief of police fled; the mace-bearers stood aloof." * * * * *

"The king's sons are made officers to the royal army: thousands of pity for the poor luxurious princes, who are sometime compelled to go out of the door of the city in the heat of the sun, with their hearts palpitating from the firing of muskets and guns. Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army; and the forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements. The king sends sweetmeats for the troops in the field, and the guards at the door of the city plunder it like the property of an enemy."

At length, on the 8th of June, 1857, an English force, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, after a sharp conflict with a portion of the rebel army, which vainly attempted to arrest its progress, succeeded in taking up a position upon an elevated ridge about a mile from the city, which it commanded. From that moment the doom of the rebel capital, though for a time deferred, was felt to be inevitable.

The royal troops of Delhi had now other occupation found for them besides eating the king's sweetmeats; but, according to a native account, however valiantly they acquitted themselves behind walls and loopholed buildings, they had little stomach for fighting in the open field. The native writer of a diary kept the first few weeks of the siege, says—"The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise: they are very clever indeed. When they wish to leave the field of battle, after shooting down many Feringhees, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and so come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by many of their friends to assist them along." The same writer also says—"The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort, the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the fort, and the princes show him the pieces. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear." Again, on the 22nd of July, the same writer says—"The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadoor, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged his majesty to remain in the fort another day, and during that time he assured him he would devise means to put a stop to the annoyance." It is needless to say the subahdar did not keep his word.

At length, on the 18th of September, it was reported to Major-general Wilson, by spies from the city, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, and some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were determined to resist to the last man: but almost immediately upon this announcement, indications of a design to evacuate the palace were apparent; and, during the night of the 19th, the king and princes, with their women and attendants, accompanied by a considerable number of the troops, retired from the royal residence to seek a temporary refuge near the palace of the Cootub Minar, about nine miles from the city, whither, on the following day, they were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and a party of fifty of his irregular horse. The incidents of the occurrence are thus described in a letter to the brother of Captain Hodson, by an officer intimately acquainted with the operations of that distinguished commander, and who had the details at the time from the lips of himself and other eye-witnesses of the facts related. This officer, after some preliminary remarks as to former meritorious services of Captain Hodson, says—"On our taking possession of the city gate, reports came in that thousands of the enemy were evacuating the city by the other gates, and that the king, also, had left his palace. We fought our way inch by inch to the palace walls, and then found truly enough that its vast arena was void. The very day after we took possession of the palace (the 20th), Captain Hodson received information that the king and his family had gone, with a large force, out of the Ajmere gate to the Cootub. He immediately reported this to the general commanding, and asked whether he did not intend to send a detachment in pursuit, as, with the king at liberty and heading so large a force, our victory was next to useless, and we might be the besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the irregulars; but this offer was also refused, though backed up by Neville Chamberlain.

"During this time messengers were coming in constantly; and, among the rest, one from Zeenat Mahal (the favourite begum), with an offer to use her influence with the king to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions at first were ludicrous enough—viz., that the king and the whole of the males of his family should be restored to his palace and honours; that not only should his pension be continued, but the arrears since May be paid up, with several other equally modest demands. I need not say these were treated with contemptuous denial. Negotiations, however, were vigorously carried on; and care was taken to spread reports of an advance in force to the Cootub.

Every report as it came in was taken to General Wilson, who at last gave orders to Captain Hodson to promise the king's life and freedom from personal indignity, and make what other terms he could. Captain Hodson then started with only fifty of his own men for Humayun's tomb, three miles from the Cootub, where the king had come during the day. The risk was such as no one can judge of who has not seen the road, amid the old ruins scattered about of what was once the real city of Delhi. He concealed himself and men in some old buildings close by the gateway of the tomb, and sent in his two emissaries to Zeenat Mahal with the *ultimatum*—the king's life and that of her son and father (the latter has since died). After two hours passed by Captain Hodson in most trying suspense, such as (he says) he never spent before, while waiting the decision, his emissaries (one an old favourite of poor Sir Henry Lawrence) came out with the last offer—namely, that the king would deliver himself up to Captain Hodson only, and on condition that he repeated with his own lips the promise of the government for his safety. Captain Hodson then went out into the middle of the road in front of the gateway, and said that he was ready to receive his captives and renew the promise. You may picture to yourself the scene before that magnificent gateway, with the milk-white domes of the tomb towering up from within—one white man among a host of natives, yet determined to secure his prisoner or perish in the attempt.

"Soon a procession began to come slowly out; first Zeenat Mahal, in one of the close native conveyances used for women. Her name was announced as she passed, by the Moulvie. Then came the king in a palkee, on which Captain Hodson rode forward and demanded his arms. Before giving them up, the king asked whether he was 'Hodson Bahadoor,' and if he would repeat the promise made by the herald? Captain Hodson answered that he would, and repeated that the government had been graciously pleased to promise him his life, and that of Zeenat Mahal's son, on condition of his yielding himself prisoner quietly; adding very emphatically, that if any attempt was made at a rescue, he would shoot the king down on the spot like a dog. The old man then gave up his arms, which Captain Hodson handed to his orderly, still keeping his own sword drawn in his hand. The same ceremony was then gone through with the boy (Jumma Bukht), and the march towards the city began—the longest five miles, as Captain Hodson said, that he ever rode; for, of course, the palkees only went at a foot pace, with his handful of men around them, followed by thousands, any one of whom could have shot him down in a moment. His orderly told me that it was wonderful to see the influence which his calm and undaunted look had on the crowd. They seemed perfectly paralysed at the fact of one white man (for they thought nothing of his fifty black sowars) carrying off their king alone. Gradually, as they approached the city, the crowd slunk away, and very few followed up to the Lahore gate. Then Captain H. rode on a few paces, and ordered the gate to be opened. The officer on duty asked simply, as he passed, what he had got in his palkees. 'Only the king of Delhi,' was the answer; on which the officer's enthusiastic exclamation was more emphatic than becomes ears polite. The guard were for turning out to greet him with a cheer, and could only be repressed on being told that the king would take the honour to himself. They passed up that magnificent deserted street to the palace gate, where Captain Hodson met the civil officer (Mr. Saunders), and formally delivered over his royal prisoners to him. His remark was amusing: 'By Jove! Hodson, they ought to make you commander-in-chief for this.'

"On proceeding to the general's quarters to report his successful return, and hand over the royal arms, he was received with the characteristic speech, 'Well, I'm glad you have got him; but I never expected to see either him or you again!' while the other officers in the room were loud in their congratulations and applause. He was requested to select for himself from the royal arms what he chose; and has, therefore, two magnificent swords, one with the name of 'Nadir Shah,' and the other the seal of Jehangeer engraved upon it, which he intends to present to the Queen.

"On the following day he captured three of the princes. I am anxious you should fully understand that your brother was bound by orders from the general to spare the king's life, much against his own will; and that the capture was on his own risk and responsibility, but not the pledge."

Upon the arrival of the cavalcade at the palace, the king, with his favourite begum, Zeenat Mahal, and her son, a youth of seventeen, were conducted by Mr. Saunders

to a small building in one of the courts of the imperial residence, where, under a proper guard, they remained, with about half-a-dozen attendants, until their final destiny was decided upon.

A letter from the palace, dated the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught, I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the Lāl Kooa-street—i.e., the Red Wall-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked nose, and short white beard, and is by no means regal looking. He seemed in a great fright, and apparently thought we had come to insult him; so we merely looked at him and came away." Another correspondent writes—"We have seen the king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank, fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, and was exceedingly glad to be relieved of so responsible a position."

The requirements of justice had now to be satisfied by the punishment of the royal traitor and his rebellious sons; the latter having also taken an active part in the early massacres at the palace and the Khotwallee. The king himself was reserved, on the ground of his advanced age (eighty-five), for the more formal and deliberate procedure of a military commission; but for his principal agents in the dire work of rebellion and murder, no unnecessary delay was allowed to interpose, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Two of his sons and a grandson had already paid the penalty of their crimes by death, at the hands of Captain Hodson; and shortly afterwards, two others of the princes were captured, and, after being tried by a military tribunal, were also shot.

On the 10th of October, a message was transmitted from the governor-general in council to General Wilson, from which the following is an extract:—"If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as that can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist, in part, of some European infantry and cavalry, with field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose are, Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Shortly before the arrival of these instructions at Delhi, Major-general Wilson had resigned the command of the army on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Major-general Penny, who, on the 22nd of the month, wrote thus to the secretary of the government:—"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him.* The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort at Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately."

Some time elapsed before any active measures were adopted with regard to the

* The condition was simply that he should surrender without resistance. See preceding page. *Vide* also *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 510.

future destiny of the royal captive; but at length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy at Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, the period arrived when it became expedient to determine the course to be pursued with Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen, who still retained his kingly style, though a prisoner in an out-building of his own palace. The capture of the king was effected on the 21st of September; but it was not until the month of January, 1858, that the commission under which he was put upon his trial was made public: at the same time, the charges preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

“1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company’s army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

“2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

“3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

“4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, did within the precincts of the palace at Delhi, feloniously cause and become accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.—FREDERICK I. HARRIOTT, Major,

“Jan. 5th, 1858. Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Government Prosecutor.”

The trial of the ex-king of Delhi at length commenced on Wednesday, the 27th of January, in the Dewan Khass of the palace; the court being composed of the following officers:—Colonel Dawes, horse artillery, president (in room of Brigadier Showers, about to leave the station); members—Major Palmer, H.M.’s 60th rifles; Major Redmond, H.M.’s 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, H.M.’s 6th carabincers, and Captain Rothney, 4th Seik infantry. Major Harriott, deputy judge-advocate-general, government prosecutor; and Mr. James Murphy, interpreter to the court. The trial was to have commenced at 11 o’clock A.M.; but owing to delays, caused by the sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers’ approaching departure, it was half-past twelve before the prisoner was brought in, although he was in attendance, sitting on a palanquin outside, under a guard of rifles, at the appointed hour. He appeared very infirm, and tottered into court, supported on one side by Jumma Bukht (his youngest son), and on the other by a confidential servant, and coiled himself up on a cushion on the left of the president, and to the right of the government prosecutor; Jumma Bukht standing a few yards to his left, and a guard of rifles being drawn up beyond all.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and inter-

preter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and proceeded to address the court in a clear, concise, explanatory manner, observing, that although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed through Captain Hodson.

The prosecutor then put the question, through the interpreter, "guilty or not guilty?" which the prisoner either did not, or affected not to understand; and there was some difficulty in explaining it to him. He then declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, although a translated copy of them was furnished and read to him, in the presence of witnesses, some twenty days previous. After some more delay, the prisoner pleaded "not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded. A number of documents, of various descriptions, and of greater or lesser importance, were then read by the prosecutor; these had been translated into English, and consisted chiefly of petitions from all classes of natives to the "Shelter of the World:" they were very curious, some complaining of outrages committed by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs, others bringing forward the delinquencies of his ex-majesty's offspring, who were accused of extorting money and property of all descriptions from the people. Others referred to the appointment of officers to the rebel army, and the disposal of liquor found in the magazine, but not whispered in Mohammedan circles; while some related to more important matters connected with the "new reign"—one and all concluding with a prayer that such reign should be as long as the world lasted. Most of these "state papers" bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top, and were sworn to by competent witnesses, thereby affording conclusive proof of the active part taken by him in the rebellion.

The court was occupied the remainder of the day with these documents, during the reading of which the prisoner appeared to be dozing, or contemplating his son, who presented much the appearance of a Massalchee, as he stood by, occasionally laughing and conversing with the attendant. Neither one nor the other appeared to be much affected by their position, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the necessities of their destiny.

On the second day, the military commission resumed its sitting at 11 o'clock A.M. The court was mainly occupied in listening to petitions relating to occurrences of small importance, during the prisoner's brief reign; of most of which he pleaded entire ignorance, denied the signatures, and endeavoured, by voice and gesture, to impress the court with an idea of his innocence. Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel; and thus the business of the court proceeded up to about 1 o'clock P.M., when a document, translated into English, was read—apparently a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children confined in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated, that unless the army could procure a *futwa*, it should not be put into execution. This document the government prosecutor informed the court, was the only one among the heap before him in which the spirit of mercy and kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was one of the very few upon which the prisoner had not entered some remarks. Soon after the above-mentioned paper had been read, the prisoner, who had been for some time reclining in a lethargic state, commenced to groan and to complain of feeling unwell; and it soon became evident that the court must close its sitting. The prisoner was remonstrated with, through the interpreter, but he begged to be allowed to leave; and, at half-past one o'clock, the president adjourned the court until 11 A.M. on the 29th instant.

The trial of the ex-king commenced, on the third day, at the appointed hour. The prisoner was brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Abbas, and two servants; Jumma Bukht having received a hint to remain in confinement, owing to the manner assumed by him during the first day's trial. Up to half-past twelve the court was occupied in having read to the prisoner the vernacular of the translations read to the court the day previous; a process not very interesting to the

court, and apparently of little moment to the prisoner, who, coiled up easily upon his cushion, appeared lost in the land of dreams; and except when anything particular struck him, continued unmindful of what was passing around. Occasionally, however, when a particular passage was read from any of the documents, the dull eye might be seen to light up, and the bowed head would be raised to catch every word.

The examination of the king's vakeel, Gholam Abbas, then commenced. The evidence he gave principally related to the events which occurred on the 11th of May, as he himself was in company with the king, and witness to all that occurred on that date. He described the first appearance of the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry under the windows of the king's private apartments. He stated that these men clamoured loudly for an audience with the king, exclaiming that they wished him to put himself at their head. The king then went to the Dewan Khass, and, on arriving there, he heard the firing of musketry, and inquired the cause, which afterwards proved to be two companies of sepoy firing a sort of *feu de joie* into the air. The king hearing this, sent for the native officers to inquire the origin of the disturbance; when he was informed that, consequent on the outrage committed by the government on their caste, by the issue of cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows, they had slaughtered all Europeans at Meerut, and came to him for the protection of their lives. The king used all his endeavours to prevent their entry into the palace, and dispatched some attendants to tell Captain Douglas to seek protection in his own private apartments, and take whatever precautions he chose; also giving instructions for all the gates of the palace to be closed. Captain Douglas, however, obstinately persisted in going to speak to the cavalry mutineers in spite of all the entreaties of the king, who even went so far as to hold his hand. The captain then, being threatened, returned to his apartments. The commissioner was seen coming down the steps, accompanied by Azeem Abdoolah (believed to have been the king's doctor), with an undrawn sword in his hand. The king, seeing things assume a desperate aspect, became alarmed for the safety of all the Europeans in the palace, and forthwith, therefore, dispatched servants to inform them of their danger, with two palkees for the conveyance of the ladies, viz., Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford (no other lady being known to be in the palace), to convey them by a circuitous route, *viâ* the palace gardens, to the king's zenana, with a view to their being secreted; but, unfortunately, the gentlemen persisting in bearing them company, the party became so conspicuous, that, as before stated, the mutineers who entered the palace became cognizant of their presence, and forthwith pursuing them for some little distance, put an end to their existence. The king at that time was sufficiently well to walk without assistance, further than that of a stick, and this accounted for his having proceeded alone as far as he did. The sepoy were evidently annoyed at the king's willingness to adhere to the British dominion, and expressed great disgust at his partisanship with the English. They threatened his life should he not accede to all their requests; as he being the principal descendant of the house of Timur, and king of all India, was bound to protect and cherish his faithful subjects. A letter was then handed to Major Harriott, from Brigadier Longfield, in which he stated that, having been appointed president of the commission for the trial of the king, he requested to know at what time the court assembled. The court then adjourned. A request was made during the proceedings, by Bahadoor Shah, to be allowed to smoke his hookah; and permission was granted.

The trial opened at the usual hour on the fourth day, and proceedings commenced with a continuation of the examination of Gholam Abbas, the prisoner's vakeel. The witness being one of the *non mi recordo* class, determined to know nothing that could, by recital, criminate the prisoner, his family, himself, or any one connected with the palace; and this soon became so apparent, that he was twice or thrice reminded, through the interpreter, that he was giving his evidence *upon oath*. Nothing, however, was elicited from him, and he was permitted to resume his office of vakeel to the prisoner, after being subjected to a rigid cross-examination by the government prosecutor, who then proposed that the petitions of the late rajah of Bullubgurh, which were translated and read at the trial of that rebel, should be accepted as evidence; which being agreed to, he proceeded to read to the court the English translations; and, on these being concluded, the interpreter read the originals for the benefit of the

prisoner, who up to this time had been sleeping. He was awoke for the purpose, and appeared to listen attentively, making some remark at the conclusion of each, and indicating by signs during the reading, that he knew nothing whatever about them. He appeared in much better health and humour than on any of the previous days, and laughed in great spirits as each successive paper was taken up to be read, as if quite amused at there being so many.

Up to nearly half-past one o'clock on the fifth day, the court was occupied in reading documents in the vernacular; but when these had been disposed of, the translations of the military papers were read, and afforded considerable amusement to the court. These consisted chiefly of petitions, upon various subjects, from "The Lord Sahib, Mirza Mogul, commander-in-chief of the royal army," Bukht Khan Bahadoor, and other traitors. In some, the helpless state of the "infidels" was set forth in the most glowing terms, pointing out how, with very slight assistance and delay, they would be sent to a place even Mohammedan murderers are never to see; others pointing out how certain districts had been brought under the "royal rule," and treasure obtained by the revolt of those whose duty it was to guard its safety; while all were full of hatred to the "infidels," and unbounded love for the king. To most of these documents the prisoner's autograph orders and signature in pencil had been attached.

The sixth day's trial commenced at 11 A.M. of the 2nd of February. The early part of the day was occupied in reading original documents relating to military matters, the English versions of which were read the day previous: at the conclusion of which, the translation of a letter, dated the 24th of March, addressed to the late Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, was read, disclosing the fact, that as far back as a year and a-half previous, secret emissaries were sent by the king of Delhi to Persia, through the agency of one Mahomed Hussun Uskeeree, the object of which was evidently to obtain assistance to complete the overthrow of British power in India. The perusal of the letter, which bore both the Delhi and Agra post-mark, excited considerable sensation in court, and led to a severe cross-examination, by the judge-advocate, of Ehsain-oolla Khan, the prisoner's hakeem, whose evidence partly corroborated the fact of the emissaries having been sent. The witness further stated, that Hussun Uskeeree was not unknown to him; that he was supposed to possess the art of foretelling events, interpreting dreams, &c.; and that one of the prisoner's daughters, named Nawaub Baigam, had become a disciple of his, and was supposed to be his mistress. There was, however, a decided disinclination, on the part of the hakeem, to implicate the prisoner, the witness always endeavouring to absolve him from all knowledge of, or participation in, the acts deposed to. In one or two instances this was so apparent as to create a smile. When questioned as to the feeling displayed by the native inhabitants of Delhi regarding the war between England and Persia, the witness replied that the feeling was scarcely perceptible, but that it was in favour of the British; the Persians being Sheeahs, and the Mohammedans of Persia Soonnees. He further stated, that the Persian proclamation posted at the Jumma Musjid created little or no sensation, and that its genuineness was doubted. He said that the war between England and Persia was not the subject of conversation among the Mohammedans of Delhi, and that the prisoner had never mentioned it. The whole of his evidence tended to implicate, to a considerable extent, the Shah of Persia; and to lead the court to believe that the prisoner was entirely innocent of any complicity in the intrigues that were going on.

On the seventh day, the court commenced proceedings by the examination, through the interpreter, of a person named Jutmull, formerly news-writer to the lieutenant-governor at Agra. His evidence was most important; and, notwithstanding an apparent desire to criminate the prisoner as little as possible, was most damaging to the royal cause. The witness corroborated the statement regarding the emissaries from the prisoner to Persia, about the time the Persians advanced upon Herat; the time corresponding with that given by the hakeem the day previous. He also mentioned the firm belief of many in the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, and related a remarkable dream of the prophet shortly before the mission left Delhi for Persia. It was thus related. Hussun Uskeeree saw a mighty black storm coming from the west, accompanied by a great rush of water, which increased to such an extent, that the whole country was overwhelmed. In the midst of this storm was the prisoner (the ex-king of Delhi), seated

on a charpoy, borne up by the waters, and supported safely till the flood subsided! This vision was, as a matter of course, turned to account, and interpreted accordingly. The storm from the westward was Persia. The overwhelming waves swept away all traces of British rule, and the "infidels" with them; and the mighty monarch, the ex-king of Delhi, having weathered the storm, was permitted to return to all his former state and dignity as the Great Mogul! During the recital of this dream, and of the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, the prisoner, as though affected by some galvanic agency, suddenly started up, and declared that he firmly believed in all that had been stated respecting the wonderful powers of Hussun Uskeeree. It further appeared from the evidence of Jutmull, that the gifted slave, Hussun Uskeeree, had, with the most unparalleled devotion, cut off no less than twenty years from his own valuable life, for the purpose of prolonging, by that period, the life of his master.

The witness Jutmull then entered into particulars concerning the murders committed in the palace, describing the manner in which Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and other Europeans, were butchered—atrocities in which, if the prisoner took no active part, he was perfectly cognizant of, notwithstanding the manifest exertions on the part of the native witnesses to prove the contrary.

On the eighth day, the evidence of Jutmull, the news-writer, was continued. What was elicited from him related chiefly to the massacre of the European prisoners of all classes and ages, on the 16th of May; and confirmed all before reported concerning the cold-blooded atrocities committed absolutely under the prisoner's own apartments in the palace. The canal water, which ran through the place of execution, was, it appears, used for the purpose of washing away all traces of the bloody deed. Captain Forrest, commissary of ordnance, was then called in, and examined until 4 P.M., when the court adjourned.

On resuming proceedings upon the ninth day, Captain Forrest's examination was continued, and the court was occupied in recording an account of the incidents of the 11th of May, up to the hour when the magazine was exploded.

Mukhun Lall, a chobdar, who formerly attended upon the late Captain Douglas, was then called, having been named by Jutmull as one of those who were present when Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, Miss Jennings, and Miss Clifford, were murdered.

The witnesses, Mukhun Lall and Jutmull, were both cross-examined by the prisoner's vakeel, but to no purpose. The evidence recorded was confirmatory of the worst features of these horrible scenes, and implicated the palace people most completely. The court adjourned at 4 P.M.

The tenth day's proceedings commenced at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 8th of February. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S., was sworn by the government prosecutor, and gave important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak of the 11th of May. In reply to a question by the prosecutor, he also stated his opinion regarding the object of circulating the chupatties, about which so many and various opinions had been recorded. Sir Thomas further stated, that the proclamation purporting to be from the king of Persia, which was found posted on the walls of the Jumma Musjid a short time before the outbreak at Delhi, could not have been exposed to the public for more than three hours, as, early in the morning succeeding the night it was placed there, he heard that a crowd of natives had gathered round the spot; and, finding such to be the case, he sent his people to remove the paper. He further mentioned the rumour, said to be current, to the effect, that the Cashmere gate of the city would shortly be attacked and taken from the British; which was conveyed to the magistrates' court about six weeks before the outbreak, by an anonymous writer. The witness declared his opinion, that the chupatties so extensively circulated first emanated from Lucknow, and that they were distributed for the purpose of congregating together, when necessary, persons of one class, who partook of one description of food. He does not think they were circulated throughout India, but only in government villages; a significant fact, when taken into account with what followed their circulation. In Boonlundshuhur, the witness continued, the inhabitants gave as a reason for circulating them, that they thought it was by order of government, and consequently they passed them on. The witness was of opinion that the war with Persia created great excitement in Delhi,

and was the subject of much conversation during the time it lasted; and he concluded by stating some facts confided to him by John Everet, a Christian rissaldar of the 14th irregular cavalry, from which it appeared, that the attempt to overthrow the British government was known to be in contemplation before the outrage commenced.

At the conclusion of Sir T. Metcalfe's evidence, the prisoner was asked if he would like to put any questions. He replied in the negative, but wished to know if the Persians and Russians were the same people!

The court adjourned about 1 p.m., to allow time for the "wise man," Hussun Uskeeree, who had been sent for, to appear. On the court reassembling after an absence of about half-an-hour, the soothsayer appeared in court. He did not strike the beholder as a very fascinating sort of fellow; and it was, therefore, probably the effect of enchantment that led the king's daughter to become his "disciple."

Hussun Uskeeree having been sworn and examined, denied all that had been said of the wonderful powers attributed to him. He said that, whatever others might be pleased to think of him, it was merely a matter of opinion, and that he was not at all answerable for it. That he was an humble individual, content to live in peace without troubling himself about dreams, whether of kings or peasants. He denied that he ever had a dream of a great form from the west; in fact, he denied everything.

The prisoner was then referred to, and, notwithstanding his recorded statement of his firm belief in the powers attributed to the witness, he denied all knowledge of him or his powers. He was reminded of his statement made but a few days previous; but all to no purpose: he completely ignored him; and Hussun Uskeeree was returned to his place of confinement, much to the disgust of those who expected some interesting revelations from him.

The next witness called was Bukhtawur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas. His evidence chiefly related to the occurrences of the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers to the murder of Mr. Fraser, C.S., Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., Mr. Jennings, and the ill-fated ladies of his family. It appeared—and all the evidence on this point tended to confirm the sad tale—that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were near the Calcutta gate, leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the mutineers came up, and that the troopers all fired upon the party, but that only Mr. Nixon was killed and Mr. Hutchinson wounded. The Europeans jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent: they ran along the ditch, and gained the gates of the palace, which they entered and closed. Mr. Fraser came soon after, and was admitted; and, at one period of the attack, he appears to have seized a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot one of the troopers, upon which the others galloped off; but being reinforced by numbers, they soon became bolder. At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments above the gateway; and soon after this, a party of people from the palace came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen! Deen!" (the Faith! the Faith!) and a crowd gathering, they, headed by the native officer of the guard at the palace (a company of the 88th light infantry), surrounded and murdered, in the most brutal manner, the whole party. One mob went up one way to the hiding-place of the victims; another proceeded in a different direction; so that none escaped. Meantime the work of destruction was going on outside, other troopers having arrived; and it became necessary for every one to look to his own safety: the witnesses (Hindoos) consequently left, and were unable to relate anything further. Another witness was called, named Kishen, his statement being much the same as that of the prisoner's witness, Bukhtawur. The evidence, so far as it had gone, was conclusive on one point—viz., that the inmates of the palace assisted at the murder of Messrs. Fraser, Jennings, Hutchinson, Captain Douglas, and the ladies; and, while several witnesses affirmed that the prisoner tried to persuade Captain Douglas from his intention of going among the mutineers, not one attempted to show that he exerted his influence to check the disturbance at its commencement, or to save the Europeans at his gate.

On the eleventh day, the court resumed, and was occupied the whole day with the examination of a person named Chune, formerly editor of a native paper, entitled the *Delhi News*. The witness gave some important evidence, and confirmed the

statements of Jutmull and Bukhtawur, regarding the manner in which Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas met their death; adding, that Mr. Fraser attempted to make a stand near the Grape garden (Ungoorie Bagh) with his personal sowars (supplied by the Jhujjur nawab) and a few of the police who were collected near. As soon, however, as the mutinous troopers fired upon Mr. Fraser and his friends, the Jhujjur sowars and police decamped, having, according to the witness's idea, been scattered by the cry, "Deen, Deen!" raised by the mutineers on their approach. He then stated, in reply to questions by the government prosecutor, that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and gave it as his firm belief, that the Mohammedans were very much excited about the Persian war. The chupatties which were circulated, were, he said, for the purpose of bringing together a large body of men for some business to be explained to them hereafter; and he said they originated at or near Kurnaul—precisely the opposite direction from which Sir T. Metcalfe traced their origin. The witness, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said, that about five or six days after the city had been in possession of the mutineers, he heard that there was a great disturbance in the palace; and, on going to see the cause, found a number of sepoy and some of the prisoner's armed servants killing Europeans—men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter was completed, he enquired of the sweepers, who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed; of these only five or six were males, the rest females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river: when he saw them lying dead, they were in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house, spectators of the scene; and the witness heard that Mirza Mogul himself was one of those looking on. These unfortunate people were confined, previous to their massacre, from the 11th to the 16th of May, in a sort of receptacle for rubbish, in which it would have been deemed an insult to confine a person with any pretensions to respectability. There were many better and more suitable buildings, but they were not allotted to the Europeans.

The court resumed its sitting on the twelfth day. There was some delay in obtaining the witness; but, about half-past eleven, "Chunee" came into court, and his examination was continued: it was not, however, of much importance, and he was permitted to retire, one — Ram, a pedlar, taking his place. Having been sworn and examined, the witness deposed that he was in Delhi on the 11th of May last, but left three or four days after the outbreak. He confirmed all that the previous witness had stated; adding, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired before the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He said that when the prisoner went out, a royal salute was fired, and the same on his return; but as this was customary on all occasions of the ex-king going out in procession, it is not of much importance either way. A witness named Gholam was then sworn and examined, and gave some particulars of the massacre of the Europeans inside the palace, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known, two days prior to the fearful deed, that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that particular day; and a great crowd had, in consequence, collected. They, the prisoners, were all ranged in a line, on the edge of a tank or watercourse, and, at a given signal (unseen by the witness), the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement (according to another witness); but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the fatal work was soon completed. The confusion was too great for the witness to frame an accurate idea of the number murdered; but it was large, and the majority of them were women and children. Their murderers must have numbered 150 to 200. When the massacre was over, the spectators were turned out of the palace, and the bodies carried away. No one attempted to interfere to prevent this frightful slaughter; no messenger from the king came to stop it; and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. He then, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said he was present at the murder of the Beresford family. Mr. Beresford was, it seems, badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but, armed with a sword, and his brave

wife with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and the whole party murdered. With them were, it was supposed, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the Bank for safety. The house where they were all slaughtered still bore marks of the struggle.

The prisoner's hakeem, Ehsain-oolla Khan, was then called in, and examined on oath. His evidence always broke down when verging to a certain point—namely, criminating the prisoner. He denied that he was in the prisoner's confidence, and said, that many important matters connected with the household were never mentioned to him, instancing, among other things, the prisoner's repudiation of his wife Taj Mahal, after having been regularly married to her. He admitted that the king's armed "servants" numbered about twelve hundred men; and, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said that they had not been dismissed in consequence of the part taken by them in the death of Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and the other Europeans murdered in the palace. Notwithstanding a severe cross-examination, it was plain to be seen that, beyond mere generalities, nothing could be gained from the witness; and the court adjourned.

The prisoner was more lively than usual on this day; he declared his innocence of everything several times; and amused himself by twisting and untwisting a scarf round his head, and occasionally asking for a stimulant.

On the thirteenth day (Feb. 11th), the prisoner's hakeem was again examined; but his evidence was not of much moment, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the severe cross-examination to which he was subjected, his leaning to the prisoner was strikingly apparent. At the conclusion of the witness's evidence, Mrs. Aldwell was called, sworn, and examined by the judge-advocate. Her evidence consisted mainly of a narrative of hairbreadth escapes in Delhi, extending over a period of near five months' residence in the city—viz., from the day of the mutiny until the reoccupation of the city by the British troops. The main points were as follows:—The witness resided at Duryagunge; and on the arrival of the mutineers, the house where she lived was defended for some time by a few Europeans there assembled; who, failing at last in defending themselves, were captured; the witness, and some children only, escaping in the disguise of Mohammedans to the house of Mirza Abdoolah, a shahzadah, with whom she was previously acquainted. They were well received by the females of the shahzadah's family, and promised protection; but during the night of the 11th of May, they were sent to the house of the Mirza's mother-in-law, for greater security, and considered themselves safe. On Mrs. Aldwell, however, sending to the Mirza's house for some money and valuables left behind, Mirza Abdoolah sent word to say, that if any more messengers were sent to the house, the whole party should be murdered. They were subsequently brought before Mirza Mogul, and ordered for execution; but some sepoy took charge of them, and kept them in confinement. A tailor in Mrs. Aldwell's employ appears to have befriended the family throughout; and, through his influence with a sowar, she and her children appear to have been preserved. Herself and children were taught the kulmah; and, notwithstanding strong suspicions of their being Christians, they were all wonderfully preserved until the 9th of September, just before the assault, and proceeded in a bylee to Meerut. The witness gave some evidence upon interesting points connected with her sojourn in the city; among other things stating, that when in confinement, together with some twenty or thirty other women and children, the sepoy were in the habit of paying them visits; telling them they should all be cut into little pieces to feed the kites and crows! When their fellow-prisoners were sent for to be slaughtered, the order was given to "bring out the Christians," and leave the Mohammedans (meaning Mrs. Aldwell and her children) to be dealt with afterwards. The witness described this scene as heartrending: the unfortunate creatures declared that they were about to be murdered; but the Mohammedan mutineers swore on the Koran, and the Hindoos on the Gunga, that no harm should happen to them. They were then "massed together," and a rope passed round them (after the fashion at present in vogue when conducting rebels to their prison), and thus they were marched off to the place of execution. The witness said, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that there were no disturbances between the Hindoos and Mohammedans during the siege;

that the latter gave in to the former on every occasion; and that not even at the Buckra Eed festival was an ox slaughtered. In reply to a question by the court, the witness said, that the prisoners were, during their confinement, subjected to indignity and insult from the mutineers and rabble of Delhi.

There was a larger number of listeners than usual in court on this day; and the prisoner appeared the least interested person present.

On the fourteenth day (Feb. 12th), Mr. C. B. Saunders, C.S., commissioner of Delhi, having been duly sworn, gave some interesting particulars regarding the circumstances under which the prisoner, Bahadoor Shah, became a pensioner of the British government; stating the amount of pension, &c., allowed, and other facts connected with the ex-king's former position.

Major Paterson, of the (late) 54th native infantry, was then called in, and examined. The evidence of this witness was merely a repetition of facts, already well known, concerning the outbreak on the 11th of May last. Major Paterson deposed to the murder of his brother officers of the 54th native infantry, and his own escape to Kurnaul, when he found that he had no control over the men of his regiment.

The prisoner's secretary, Mukh Lall, was called in, sworn, and examined. He was admonished by the judge-advocate for displaying a want of respect to the court, in first neglecting to make his obeisance on entering, and then took his place in the usual position for witnesses. He is a short and rather stout Hindoo. On recovering his equanimity, he assumed a very humble attitude, and stood with clasped hands while his statement was read and translated to the court, the president inquiring, at every dozen words or so, whether he adhered to it on oath; to which he generally replied in the affirmative.

The statement was to the effect, that for at least two years before the outbreak the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government. This he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the disinclination, on the part of government, to appoint whoever the prisoner pleased as heir-apparent to the throne. The latter circumstance was known to have caused great dissatisfaction and disquiet in the palace. The arrival of some of the royal family (relations of the prisoner) from Lucknow, about this time, the witness believed to be connected with the prisoner's messengers to Persia; for which purpose the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali, disbursed funds to a certain Abyssinian, named Seedee Kumber, who was entrusted with the mission. For some time previous to the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut, the disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the prisoner's private apartments; and even outside, those connected with the palace talked openly of the circumstance. It was also generally believed that the native officers, who went from Delhi to Meerut to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry, arranged the whole business of the outbreak; and the witness strengthened this belief by stating that the guards of the palace, changed weekly, from the three regiments cantoned at Delhi, had become adherents of the prisoner. On the arrival of the mutineers at the palace, they came under the windows of the prisoner's private apartments, declaring loudly that all the Europeans at Meerut had been murdered, and that if the prisoner would protect them (the sepoys), and become their king, they would soon make an end of all the Europeans at Delhi. The prisoner is stated to have asked if they would be faithful, and whether they were prepared to encounter the consequences; and on their reply in the affirmative, sweetmeats were distributed to the men, and presents of money, in addition, to the native officers. The prisoner's own armed retainers then went and slew Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas, the troopers and sepoys killing all Europeans, wherever they could be found, in the city. On their return to the palace the prisoner was proclaimed king; a royal salute was fired; and the next day (the 12th of May), the silver throne, which had been laid by since 1843, was brought out, and placed in the hall of special audience, the prisoner taking his seat upon it as king of Delhi! With regard to the massacre of European prisoners, the witness said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul and another villain went to obtain the consent of the prisoner. He was in his private apartments, and they were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes they returned, declaring,

with a loud voice, that the prisoner had given his consent, and the slaughter accordingly commenced. The ex-king, at this stage of the proceedings, looked up at the court, and putting his forefinger into his mouth, made an Asiatic sign, which is interpreted as "plucking his tongue out" if he gave any such consent! The prisoner appeared perfectly indifferent to the presence of his private secretary, and to what he said; and, except on the occasion above noticed, made no remark or sign whatever.

The prisoner was brought into court as usual, on the fifteenth day, and took his position upon the charpoy assigned to him. With the exception of another shawl twisted round his head, his appearance was unaltered. Mukhun Lall was called into court, and his examination continued. He stated, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was never admitted to the royal secrets. That at the private conferences, Maibhoob Ali, Hussun Uskeeree, the begum (Zeenat Mahal), and two of the prisoner's daughters, were generally present, and that by their counsel he was generally guided. He said that after the mutineers from Meerut, together with those cantoned at Delhi, had taken possession of the city, he did not remember any attempt being made to induce other regiments at distant stations to join them. And, in reply to a question by the judge-advocate, stated, that two days after the British troops had entered the city, or on the 16th of September, the prisoner went out with the mutineers as far as Khan Ali Khan's house (about 300 or 400 yards from the palace gates) in an open litter, for the purpose of encouraging them in driving the English out again; but that he very soon halted, and his brave army dispersed; or, in other words, came back faster than they went. The court and the prisoner's counsel declining to ask any questions, the witness was allowed to withdraw.

Captain Tytler (late 38th light infantry) was then called into court, and examined. After deposing to the fact of the arrival in cantonments of a dawk carriage, full of natives, the night previous to the mutiny, and to the occurrences on the morning of the 11th of May, Captain Tytler was questioned by the judge-advocate as to whether he had, prior to the mutiny, remarked anything which induced him to believe that his regiment was unfaithful. He replied in the negative, but said that he had since heard certain rumours, from which he inferred that there must have been some secret meetings among the men in cantonments; and a servant, a bearer of his, on taking leave to go to his home, a short time before the outbreak, remarked that he would return to the service if Captain Tytler's choolah* still burnt bright! The prisoner was asked by the interpreter, what was the meaning of the above remark by the bearer? and he laughingly replied, that it meant nothing in particular; that the man who made it must have been some hungry fellow, who was always thinking of eating.

Sergeant Fleming, late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was then called into court, and, in reply to the judge-advocate (government prosecutor), said that he was Bazaar sergeant at the time of the outbreak. His son, a youth about nineteen years of age, was employed as a writer in the commissioner's office, and had been in the habit, for five or six years, of exercising the horses belonging to the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht; for which service he received a monthly stipend. That some time in the latter end of April, his son went one morning to the house of Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister, and there met Jewan Bukht; the latter commenced abusing him, declaring that the sight of a Kafir Feringhee disturbed his serenity—spat in the youth's face, and desired him to leave. Young Fleming obeyed the order, and reported the conduct of Jewan Bukht to the late Mr. Fraser, who told him he was a fool, and should not notice such nonsense! On another occasion, early in May last, the witness's son went to Maibhoob's house to receive his pay; there he again met Jewan Bukht, who abused him in worse language than on the former occasion, and concluded by declaring that he would have his, young Fleming's, head off before many days passed over. "And," added the poor father, "he kept his word, for my son was killed on the 11th of May!"

The witness being allowed to withdraw, the judge-advocate informed the court that it would be necessary to adjourn for a few days, to allow papers to be translated, from which he expected important disclosures. The court was therefore adjourned *sine die*.

* Hearth still burning; meaning literally, "If you and your house continue in existence."

On the sixteenth day the court resumed its sittings at 11 A.M. of the 23rd of February. The prisoner came, as usual, in a palanquin, under a guard of H.M.'s 61st regiment. On alighting from his conveyance at the Dewan Khass, he declined the offer of support from his attendants, and walked to the couch assigned to him, evidently in better health than he was on his last appearance.

There was about an hour's delay, owing to the absence of one of the members of the court; and it was twelve o'clock when the first witness, Captain Martineau, of the commissariat, was called into court. This gentleman was instructor at the Umballah school of musketry; and having left on the conclusion of the practice, was travelling down the Grand Trunk road, when he met Brigadier Graves' party of fugitives from Delhi, and turned back with them towards Kurnaul, after having assisted some ladies who preceded them. In reply to a question by the judge-advocate-general, Captain Martineau stated, that he had heard the "chupatty question" discussed by the sepoys at the musketry depôt; that it was their belief (affected or real) that the cakes were circulated by government; and that the distribution implied, that those who took them were to be of the same faith and purpose. He had heard the sepoys speak openly of the greased cartridges, and frequently heard them declare that something would happen in connection with them; and the very day the first Enfield cartridge was fired, the first incendiary fire in Umballah occurred. The authorities offered a reward for the discovery of the incendiaries, but without effect; a fact also mentioned by the sepoys to witness. A report was made to government on the subject. The witness further stated, that while at Kurnaul as commissariat officer, some of the troopers of the 3rd cavalry, who came with despatches from Meerut, told him that the government had interfered with their rights and prejudices to such an extent, that they had nothing but their religion left, and that, too, was in danger of being interfered with. In short, that there was a wide-spread disaffection in the native army. The witness, in reply to the court, said that the cartridges served out at Umballah were not greased, but that the men used a composition of ghee and bees-wax for the purpose, the ingredients being purchased and supplied by him.

An original diary of events and occurrences at Delhi, from the commencement of the outbreak, was then read to the prisoner by the interpreter. This occupied the court till 2 P.M., when it adjourned.

Upon reassembling at a quarter past 2 P.M., Mrs. Fleming, wife of the late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was called in and examined. The witness stated, that about the middle of April she was at the Begum Zeenat Mahal's apartments, with a daughter, Mrs. Scully. That the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht, was present, and was talking to her daughter. The latter turned round, and said, "Do you hear what this *haramzadah* is saying?" and on her replying in the negative, her daughter told her that he said all the *Kaffirs* (Europeans) would soon be murdered. She said, in that case, his (Jewan Bukht's) head would first come off; and asked what he meant. He replied that the Persians were coming to kill all the Europeans; but that if she and her family came to him, he would protect them. He said this laughingly, and went away. The witness was cross-examined by the judge-advocate upon the above points, but was positive that such was her daughter's statement. The prisoner appeared slightly affected when the above was translated to him by the interpreter, and muttered something unintelligible, gesticulating all the time he was speaking.

A translation of the before-mentioned diary was then read to the court by the judge-advocate, commencing thus:—

"May 11th, 1857.—At night, Mr. S. Fraser, the commissioner, received a letter from Meerut, containing the news of the rebellion there; but no precautionary measures were taken at that time. In the morning, information was brought in that the 3rd light cavalry and two regiments of native infantry, at Meerut, had mutinied on account of the introduction of new cartridges; and that after having a fight with the European troops there, were on their way to Delhi. Mr. Fraser immediately ordered the vakeel of the nawab of Jhujjur to send for his master, the nawab, as soon as possible; and Sir T. Metcalfe instantly came into the city, ordered the khotwal to close all the gates of the town, and to post the burkundazes of the Khotwallee over them for protection. The khotwal executed these orders without delay. Mr. Fraser, with his orderly sowars, also

came into the city, and was given to understand that some sowars were on the bridge, and had murdered the sergeant at that place, and set his bungalow on fire.

"The rebel sowars, after murdering the sergeant at the bridge, came below the lattice of the palace, and represented to his majesty that they had come to fight for the sake of 'Deen,' and that they required the gate to be opened for their entrance. The king sent information of this to the officer commanding the palace guard, who instantly went to the spot, and said to the sowars that they were scoundrels, and ordered them to go away. In reply, the sowars uttered their revenge on him.

"Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the massacre of the sergeant at the bridge, went to the Cashmere gate, and told the sepoy on the main-guard that some troops, who had acted disloyally at Meerut, had arrived; and that as they (the sepoys) were old servants of the government, he required their assistance to put down the mutineers. The sepoys replied, that they would have no objection to go against a foreign enemy; but, in the present instance, they would not act. At this time, Jewala Sing, jemadar of the commissioner, informed Mr. Fraser that all the Mussulmans of the city were inclined to rebellion, and requested him to go out of the city immediately; but he replied that he would never do so. The shops of the city were all closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, and another European, went on the palace guard tower, to inspect the mutineers by the help of a telescope.

"The officer commanding the palace guard, after speaking to the mutineers under the lattice of the palace, went in a buggy to Mr. Fraser, who was at the Calcutta gate—took a letter out of his pocket, and handed it over to him for perusal. The orderly sowars of the commissioner were ordered to be very cautious.

"The Mussulmans of the Khanumka Bazaar went to the Rajghat gate, made some conditions with the rebel sowars, and opened the gate for them. The sowars having thus found their entrance into the city, commenced murdering the Europeans; and after they had murdered some of them at Duryagunge, and burnt their houses, they came to the hospital, and killed the sub-assistant surgeon, Chummun Lall. The Mussulmans of the city informed them that the Commissioner Sahib was on the Calcutta gate. They accordingly galloped there, and fired a number of pistols and muskets at him, but without effect: however, two other European gentlemen were shot on this occasion. The orderly sowars of the commissioner, who were all Mussulmans, made no attempt to oppose the mutineers; but the commissioner himself, taking the musket of a sowar, wounded one of them, and instantly getting in his buggy along with the officer commanding the palace guard, fled towards the palace gate: the latter reached his residence at the top of the palace guard, but Mr. Fraser was attacked and killed on the stairs. The mutinous sowars, after that, went to the residence of the killadar—massacred him, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and daughter, and another European. The Mussulmans of the city plundered all the property found in the houses of the officer commanding the palace guard, and other European residents in the city.

"Sir T. Metcalfe left the city by the Ajmere gate on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand: some rebel sowars pursued him as far as Bazaar Chaoree, but were unable to catch him. The moochees, saddlers, and shoemakers at the Ajmere gate also took their cudgels, and wished to catch and kill him, but were not successful.

"The three regiments of native infantry, stationed at Delhi, joined the mutineers; and after killing a few of their European officers, entered the city, and murdered all the Christians—men, women, and children—they could find in the houses and bungalows at Duryagunge, Cashmere gate, and Colonel Skinner's kothée.

"The Mussulmans of the city, and even some of the Hindoos, joined the mutineers, and destroyed all the Thadnas and the Khotwallee. They then attacked the Bank, and tried to murder the two gentlemen, three ladies, and two children, who were sitting there; but as the Europeans had their pistols loaded, the mutineers did not venture to come near them. A Mussulman got on a tree, but was shot by them. The mutineers then set the Bank house on fire; and the Europeans, having no means of escape, were overpowered and killed by the rebel sowars and Mussulmans with cudgels.

"The Mussulmans followed the mutineers everywhere with shouts of '*hyderee*!' (usually exclaimed on a victory). All the money in the government treasury was shared by the sepoys of the three regiments of native infantry stationed at Delhi. The Magistrate's,

Commissioner's, Judge's, and all other public offices were plundered and set on fire; and all the bungalows in the cantonment were also burnt at night. The whole of the troops from Meerut and Delhi went into the palace and stood before the king, requesting him to take them under his protection, and saying that they would make him the master of the whole country. The king said he desired, with all his soul and heart, to patronise and support them, and ordered them to stop at Selimghur.

"The mutineers got information that some Europeans—men, women, and children—were in the magazine. They instantly brought two guns from Duryagunge, and filling them with picces of stone, fired on the magazine. The Europeans inside blew up the magazine (by which several houses around it were thrown down, and several hundreds of the inhabitants killed and wounded), and fled towards the river; but the rebel sowars pursued and massacred them. They also brought alive, before the king, three sergeants and two ladies, who implored his majesty to keep them with him, otherwise the sepoy would kill them: they were accordingly ordered to stop in the mosque.

"In the evening, Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh, accompanied by his wife and brothers-in-law, went to Bullubgurh; he also took along with him, secretly, Mr. Munro, his steward (afterwards killed by the mutinous sowars).

"The mutineers attacked the house of Salug Ram, treasurer; but being unable to break the door, they went away. About midnight they returned, broke open the door, and plundered the house.

"A sergeant went away from the cantonment with two guns; but the mutineers pursued him, and brought back the guns. At night, twenty-one guns were fired below the lattice of the palace. The inhabitants were greatly terrified; and all the houses of the Europeans, in the city as well as in the cantonment, were seen in flames all night. Many shops were broken open by the sepoy, and plundered by the Mussulmans.

"*12th May, 1857.*—His majesty attended the Hall of Audience, and the chiefs paid their respects. The subahdars of the five rebel regiments presented themselves, and applied to the king to appoint a man who would provide them with supplies. Hursaha Mull and Dilvallee Mull, stewards of the king, were accordingly ordered to provide them daily with 500 rupees' worth of dal, ata, gram, &c.

"The rebel sowars got information that Mohumed Ibrahim, son of the late Wallee Mohumed, merchant, had concealed four Europeans in his house, and they instantly went there; murdered the four gentlemen, and plundered the house of the said Mohumed Ibrahim.

"A European woman, who had disguised herself in a native dress, was recognised and murdered by the sowars of the 3rd light cavalry, at the tank near the palace. The shops of all the confectioners, druggists, braziers, and bunyas, were broken open and plundered by the mutineers.

"The king, after prayers, appointed Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, late thanadar of Pahargunge, to the office of khotwal of the city—placed under his orders a regiment of the rebel sepoy, and directed him to make the Khotwallee his place of residence, and stop the plunder. The said khotwal, finding himself unable to stop the plunder, attended on the king, and represented the case to him; on which his majesty sent for all the subahdars of the rebel troops, and ordered them to place for service one regiment of infantry at the Delhi gate and at the lattice of the palace, and one company at each of the Ajmere, Lahore, Cashmere, and Furash Khana gates. The king further said to them, that he did not wish to see the inhabitants plundered, and therefore ordered them to station one company of sepoy at Durreebah, for the protection of shops there. The mutineers attacked the Nngur Sayth ka Koocha, with the intention of plundering it; but the inhabitants so pelted them, that they were obliged to flee.

"Some Christian clerks had concealed themselves, with their wives, in the house of the rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur; but the rebel sowars hearing it, went there, and fired their pistols and muskets at them. Finding that the clerks were also armed with muskets and pistols, they obtained two guns, and again attacked the house; but the clerks by this time had concealed themselves in a tyekhana, so the rebels could not find them.

"His majesty ordered Mirza Mogul Beg to take a company of infantry and stop the plunder; accordingly he went to the Khotwallee on an elephant, and had it notified by

tom-tom in the city, that should any sepoy be caught plundering any inhabitant, his nose and ears should be cut off; and that if any shopkeeper would not open his shop, or declined to provide the sepoy with food, he would be imprisoned and fined. Taj Mahal Begum, who was in confinement, was released. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were arrested and killed by the rebel sowars near the Khotwallee.

"The king, attended by two regiments of infantry and a few guns, went out on an elephant, with Mirza Jewan Bukht behind him, into the city, for the purpose of having the bazaar opened. He went as far as Chandnee Chouk, and requested the shopkeepers to open their shops and provide the troops with supplies. Hasun Alee Khan was introduced by Hakeem Ahsunoolah Khan. He presented a gold mohur as nuzzur to the king, who ordered him to wait, as he had to consult with him.

"A shawl, for the office of khotwal of the city, was conferred on Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, who returned thanks with a nuzzur of four rupees.

"13th May, 1857.—Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and other chiefs attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Nazir Hasun Mirza was ordered to bring Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan; accordingly he went out for that purpose. On his return, he informed the king that the Mirza was indisposed, and therefore could not present himself in the durbar. Ordered that Khotwal Moeen-ood-deen Khan be informed, that the troops were unable to get supplies, therefore he must provide for them. Hasun Alee Khan, attending the king, told him that the troops were already assembled in the palace, and he wanted his advice on the subject. The said Khan remarked that the troops were bloody ones; they had murdered their own officers, and it was not prudent to repose any confidence in them. Shah Nizam-ood-deen, the son of the king's spiritual guide, and Boodhun Sahib, son of the late Nawab Mohamed Meer Khan, were taken into the council. Mirza Mogul Beg, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Abdoolah, were made colonels of the regiments of infantry, and ordered to take with each of them two guns, and adopt measures to protect the Cashmere, Lahore, and Delhi gates. Shah Nizam-ood-deen represented, that some Toork sowars having arrested Nawab Hamud Alee Khan, upon an accusation of his concealing some Englishmen in his house, had brought him on foot to the jewel office, before Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and that the said nawab declared he had no Europeans in his house. The king requested him (Shah Nizam-ood-deen) to go with the sowars and sepoy, and let them search the house of the nawab. Accordingly, he and Mirza Aboob Bekr went out for that purpose; but finding no Europeans in the house, they obliged the troops to give back the property they had plundered him of, and set him at liberty. Mirza Aboob Bekr was made colonel in the light cavalry.

"Information was received by the sowars, that twenty-nine Europeans—men, women, and children—were concealed in the house of Rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur. Accordingly they went there; and having caught the Christians, shot them all by a volley of their muskets. After that they went to the house of the late Colonel Skinner; and having arrested the son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner, brought him before the Khotwallee, and murdered him there. They also, at the instigation of some person, plundered the houses of Narain Dass (banker) and Ramsurn Dass (deputy-collector), under the pretence of their concealing some Europeans in their houses. Kazee Nubboo and his son were killed by the rebel sepoy and sowars. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were massacred by the mutineers near the Budur Row gate. The king gave 400 rupees to each of the regiments, for their support. It was notified in the city by Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, that all persons wishing to serve his majesty should present themselves with their arms; and that if any person should be found to have concealed in his house any Europeans, he would be punished as guilty. Nawab Hamud Alee Khan and Walleedad Khan, of Malaghur, attended the durbar, and made their obeisance. His majesty ordered them to present themselves daily in the durbar. The head bunyas were sent for, and ordered to settle the rate of corn, and have the granaries opened, that it might be sold for the sepoy. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, having engaged 200 burkandazes, stationed them at Cureeba and Chandnee Chouk, for the protection of those places. Two watermen were arrested at Lall Kooa for robbing. Kahey Khan, Surfuraz Khan, and many other vagabonds of the city, were also apprehended. Several men were arrested for plundering Subzee Munde and Taleewarah.

"14th May, 1857.—Nazir Hasun Mirza, Captain Deldar Alee Khan, and Hasun Alee Khan, attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, Mirza Zea-ood-deen (government jagheerdars of Loharoo), and Moulvie Sudr-cod-deen Alee Khan, principal sudder ameen, also, according to orders, presented themselves. The latter presented a gold mohur in nuzzur, and the king directed him to take the charge of the civil and criminal courts, but he declined to do so. Salugram, treasurer, according to direction, attended the durbar, and presented a gold mohur. His majesty said to him that there must be some lacs of rupees in the government treasury. He replied that he did not know. The king ordered him to send one of his agents to the treasury, and he promised obedience to the order. Rujub Alee Khan presented, through Hasun Alee Khan, a gold mohur. His majesty asked about him, and was informed by Hasun Alee Khan that he was the son of the late Nawab Fyze Mohamed Khan, and also his own nephew. Mohamed Alee Khan, son of Shere Jung Khan, also presented a gold mohur. The king inquired who he was; and, in reply, was told that he was the nephew of Bahadoor Jung Khan, dadreewallah. The agent of Rawul Sheo Sing, of Sawant, Jeypoor minister, attended, and represented to the king, that on account of indisposition, his master was unable to present himself before the king; and that he (the Rawul Sahib) had resolved to go to Jeypoor. Accordingly, a letter for Maharajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, directing him to present himself and his troops without delay, was drawn up, and handed over to the said agent of Rawul Sahib. Several shookkas, for Nawab Abdool Rehman Khan, of Jujjus; Bahadoor Jung Khan, of Dadree; Akbur Alee Khan, of Patoodee; Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullabgurh; Hasun Alee Khan, of Doojana; and Nawab Ahmud Alee Khan, of Furrucknuggur, directing them to present themselves before his majesty without delay, were drawn up and issued. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan, were ordered to take charge of the district of Jhurka Ferozepoor. Information was received that the Goojurs of Chandrawul had plundered at night all the shops of the inhabitants of Subzee Munde and Taleewarah, as well as at the cantonments of Rajpoora and Mundursa. Mirza Aboo Bekr was accordingly ordered to look after the said Goojurs. He immediately attended with a regiment of cavalry, went to their village, and plundered and burnt it. Bahadoor Sing, darogah to the ex-king of Lucknow at Delhi, attended, and presented a gold mohur to the king. A European soldier, who was on his way from Umballah to Delhi to get some news, was caught and brought before his majesty, who ordered him to be sent into the armour room. A lady was also arrested and brought before the king. He sent her, too, into the armour room. His majesty was highly exasperated against the sepoys and his own chobdars, for standing before him with shoes on their feet. Mirza Mocen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, was ordered to go with a volunteer regiment to the cantonment, and punish the plunderers of that place, and of Subzee Munde and Dheerujkee Paharee. Four persons came from Meerut, and announced that European troops were coming to destroy the rebels. The sepoys were displeased at this information, and confined the persons who gave it. The thanadar of Neegumbode was ordered to have the corpses of the late commissioner and palace guard officer interred in the burying-ground, and all the other dead bodies of the Europeans to be thrown into the river. This order was executed by the thanadar. The Goojurs plundered all the property in the late commissioner's house, and reduced to ashes the office of the agency and of the *Delhi Gazette* press.

"15th May, 1857.—Moulvie Abdool Kadur prepared a list for the distribution of the pay of the troops. His majesty conferred a shawl upon Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, for the office of a deputyship. The agent of Rawul Sosing (sawutwallah) attended, and presented, on the part of his master, a vessel of the spirit of kavacah, and a bottle of attar. Ghoolamnubee Khan, darogah of Kaley Mohl, and Meer Akbur Alee, sowar, late orderly of Mr. Fraser, came and informed the king that fifty sowars, sent by the nawab of Jhujjur, had arrived, and that their master was unable to present himself in the presence of his majesty on account of disturbances and disorders in his district. Moulvie Ahmed Alee, agent to Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullabgurh, attended the durbar, presented a rupee as nuzzur, and gave a petition on the part of the rajah, stating that, on account of plunder and devastation made by the Goojurs in his district, he was unable to present himself before his majesty; but, as soon as all was settled, he would do so. Orders

were sent to present himself soon. Information was received that the collector of Rohtuck had left his post; that the treasure of that place was being plundered; and that at Goorgaon it was already carried off. The king ordered one regiment of infantry and some sowars to be sent to Rohtuck to fetch the treasure. Abdool Hakeem was ordered to entertain 400 Khasburdars at five rupees a-month each, and a regiment of sowars at twenty rupees a-month. Accordingly, 200 men were employed. Abdool Kadur, chatawallah, showed some papers to his majesty, and said that he would be able to make all arrangements they referred to. A letter was issued to the rissaldar of the cavalry, stating that Mirza Aboo Bekr was discharged from the office of commandant of cavalry, and that therefore they (the cavalry men) should act according to the orders of the king. Kazee Fyzoolah presented a rupee in nuzzur, and applied for the office of the Khotwallee of the city, and was accordingly appointed to that situation. A goldsmith, who had killed another goldsmith, was arrested and brought before the king. The Mewattees of Jaysingpoorah having plundered 4,000 rupees in cash, and all the property in the house of a European of the railway company, the sepoy hearing of it, resolved to plunder and blow up Jaysingpoorah, and to apprehend all the Mewattees there; but Lalla Boodh Sing, vakeel of the rajah of Jaysingpoorah, applied for the protection of the inhabitants of that place; and the king ordered that no sepoy be allowed to go there without his majesty's permission.

"It being reported that the sepoy and sowars were in the habit of haunting the city with drawn swords, and that the shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops, the king sent orders to the gates of the palace not to allow any sepoy to go about in the city with a drawn sword. The rissaldar of the nawab of Jhujjur's troops was ordered to pitch his tent at the Mahtab Bagh. Information was received that fourteen boats, laden with wheat, &c., were in the ghaut of Ramjee Dass's, goorwallah. Orders were sent to Dilvallee Mull, to take away the wheat for the use of the troops. Two sepoy, who had plundered 2,000 rupees from the Delhi bank, and deposited the same with Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, to be paid back at Lucknow, quarrelled between themselves; and the fact of their depositing the money being known to other sepoy, a company of an infantry regiment went to the house of the said Ramjee Dass, and obliged him to deliver the money to them. A letter was addressed to the bankers of the city, requiring their presence in the durbar. Rebel sowars and sepoy attended on the king, and complained that they had not as yet been allowed their clothing expenses, and that it appeared to them, that Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. After that they went to the house of Lall Khan, and accused Shah Nizamood-deen Peerzadah of concealing two European ladies in his house. Peerzadah required them to bring forward their informant; and they produced a man, who said he had only heard so. Peerzadah represented that he had not concealed any European ladies in his house; but if they wished to plunder and kill him on that pretence, they had the power to do so. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan took his oath on the holy Koran that he had no confederacy with the English. The mutineers plundered all the property in the house of Aga Mahomed Hasunjan Khan, the Cabool name of Mohun Lall.

"16th May, 1857.—Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, Buksheer, Aga Sooltan, Captain Dildar Alee Khan, Rujub Alee Khan, and other chiefs, attended on the king, and made their obeisance. Rebel sepoy and sowars, with their officers, attended the durbar, and produced a letter, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate. It had on it the seals of Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan. In this letter they said that the hakeem and nawab had requested the English to come immediately, take possession of the city, and nominate Mirza Jewan Bukht (son of the king by Zeenat Mahal Begum) as heir-apparent, and that they, the hakeem and nawab, would arrest and deliver to them all the mutineers in the city and palace. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan inspected the letter, denied their writing it, and asserted that it was a trick of some person, and that the seals were forged by means of 'sayt khurree' (a kind of stone); they took out their own seals, and threw them before the rebel troops; pointed out the difference between them and those on the letter; and took their oaths on the holy Koran, that the letter was not written by them; but still the mutineers did not believe them. A person came and reported that some Europeans were concealed in the drain of the canal: accordingly, Mirza Aboo Bekr, attended by

the rebel sowars and sepoys, went to the spot, and fired their pistols into it; but no European came out of it. After that the mutineers again beset Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Ahsunoollah Khan, with drawn swords, and said that there was no doubt that they were in collusion with the English, and that it was on this account that they had spared the European captives, with the intention of restoring them to the British as soon as they could come to destroy them (the mutineers); consequently they took out of the armour room all the Christian prisoners (fifty-two in number, including men, women, and children), and brought them on the reservoir at the Nukar Khanās (the porch of the palace, where drums are beaten at stated intervals), with the intention of massacring them. Mirza Muhlai Kheezur Sooltan asserted, that in conformity to the precepts of Mohammed, they ought not to murder the women; but the mutineers were displeased, and wished to kill the Mirza first; however, he ran away to his house. The mutineers having made all the Christians sit down, fired their muskets; accidentally an attendant of the king was wounded, on which two brothers, attending, massacred with their swords all the Christians—men, women, and children. About 200 Mussulmans, who were standing on the reservoir, continued all this time to vent their invectives on the Christians. The sword of one of the two attendants who killed the Christians was broken. The corpses of the Christians were laden on two carts, and thrown into the river. The Hindoos of the city, on hearing this act of treachery towards the English, were very uneasy and afflicted, and were fully convinced that the mutineers would never be victorious, for having acted so very cruelly towards the Christians; and that the anger of God would fall on them. The guards at the gates of the city were relieved: Some person informed the rebel sowars, that some Christians were concealed in the house of Muthra Dass, treasurer, in the street of Chodree; accordingly they went and searched the house and the street, but were not able to get any Christians; neither did they molest or plunder any inhabitant there. Walleedad Khan, the chief of Malaghur, was informed that the Goojurs on the bank of the Jumna had caused great disorders, and that he must adopt measures to punish them.

"Two weavers, who had disguised themselves in sepoys' dress, and were plundering the inhabitants, were caught. The bunyas of the Lahore gate brought a complaint against the thanadar of that place, and represented that he required from them 1,000 rupees in bribery, otherwise he said he would send them as prisoners to the Khotwallee. Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan sent an order to the khotwal to arrest and confine the said thanadar.

"*May 17th, 1857.*—All the chief rebels attended on the king, represented that they had prepared a battery at Selimgbur, and required his majesty to inspect the same. The king accordingly went there, and was highly satisfied. On their return to the Hall of Audience, the king mentioned to the rebel troops that he would support and assist them, and recommended them to trust, without fear, Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, and Zeenat Mahal Begum; and that whenever they, the sepoys, should catch and bring any Christian before him, he would kill him with his own hand. On hearing this speech of the king, all the rebel sepoys were satisfied, and acquitted Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Maibhoob Ali Khan of all the charges they had brought against them.

"A man, who had on him a letter from some European at Meerut, was caught and tied to a gun by the sepoys. All the sepoys stationed at the Hall of Audience were turned out of it, and the Hall of Audience was furnished with floor and purdhas, &c. As ordered, Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan presented themselves in the durbar. The king ordered them to attend on him every day, but they represented that they were indisposed. They were ordered to enlist troops, and they promised to obey the orders.

"Irtza Khan and Meer Khan, brothers of Nawab Moostfa Khan; Jehangeerabadee Akhur Khan, son of Bungush; Fukr-ood-deen Khan, and others, attended on the king, and presented two rupees each in nuzzur. Consultation regarding the appointment of colonels for the troops, was held for some time.

"A sowar came in from the Hursurookee Ghurree, and gave information that some lacs of rupees, collected on account of the revenue of the southern district, were on their way to Delbi, under the escort of a few sowars and sepoys; but that about 300 Goojurs and Mewattees of the district had made an attack on them, and were fighting to

obtain the money. Mohumed Bekr (editor of the *Oordoo Akbar*), with two companies of infantry and cavalry, was sent to oppose the Goojurs and Mewattees, and bring the treasure under their protection. The sepoy apprehended a furrash, servant of Mirza Mogul Beg, upon a charge of his giving information to the English; but he was released by the orders of Mirza Mogul Beg. A man came and reported that the Mewattees at Jaysingpoorah were wounded in plundering the property of a European at the railway; and it was found out that these Mewattees were lately in the service of the British zemindars of Undhoolee: they attended on the king, presented a rupee each, and said that they were followers of his majesty. The king ordered them to keep peace in their district, otherwise their village would be burnt. Two kossids, who were sent to Meerut for news, returned and said, that about 1,000 European soldiers, and some gentlemen, ladies, and children, had assembled at the cantonment Suddur Bazaar, prepared a dum-dumah on the Sooruj Koond, and mounted an Elephant battery over it, and that the roads from Meerut to Sahajanpoor had been infested by Goojurs, who plundered every one within their grasp, and that they (the kossids) were well beaten and plundered by the Goojurs. His majesty ordered two companies of sepoy to be posted at the bridge for the protection of the passengers.

"Hakeem Abdool Huq attended on the king, and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners, who had arrived at Meerut from Roorkee, were requested by the English to stop there and discharge their duties; but the sepoy refused to do so, and therefore had a fight with the European soldiers at Meerut: many were killed, and those who escaped came to Delhi. Shookkas, addressed to Maharajah Nurrundur Sing, rajah of Putteeala, Rajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, and rajahs of Ulwur, Joudpoor, and Kotah Boondce, ordering them to present themselves immediately before his majesty, were dispatched to them by sowars. The verandah of Deewan Kishen Lall's house fell down, and two boys were killed under it. Information was received that the troops at Umballah had mutinied, and were on their way to Delhi.

"18th May, 1857.—The bands of the five infantry regiments attended on his majesty, and played. Kheluts, each consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawls, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, sword and shield, were conferred on Mirza Mogul, for the office of general of the army; and on Mirza Kockuek, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Mayndhoo, for that of the colonel of the infantry regiments. A like khelut was granted to Mirza Aboo Bekr, for the colonelship of the light cavalry. Nuzzurs were presented—viz., by Mirza Mogul Beg, two gold mohurs; and other princes, one gold mohur and five rupees each. Hasun Alee Khan attended the durbar, and paid his respects to the king. He was ordered to attend daily and enlist troops; and a large portion of the country, the king said, should be granted to him. The khan replied that he should not be able to enlist troops; but he would wait on his majesty daily. Two sowars, who were sent with a shookka to Ulwur, returned, and said that several thousand Goojurs had infested the roads to rob and plunder the passengers; and that they (the sowars) had been plundered of everything they had, and were allowed to return only by fawning on these Goojurs; the letter they had was torn, and the pieces returned. A camel sowar, who was sent to the nawab of Furrucknuggur with a shookka, returned, and said that the Goojurs on the roads would not allow him to proceed. The officers of the five companies of the sappers and miners attended the durbar, and represented, that on their arrival at Meerut, from Roorkee, they were quartered near the Dum-Dumah, in which all the European soldiers, gentlemen, women, and children, had collected, and by promises of great rewards and higher pay, tried to coax them to remain in their service, but when three-quarters of the night had passed, they fired grape on them, and killed about two hundred men; the remainder of the sepoy then ran away, and they now presented themselves for the service of his majesty. They were ordered to pitch their tents at Selimghur. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan prepared a list of the bankers of Delhi, and sent it by his own agent to Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, Ramjee Mull, soorwallah, and Salugram, treasurer, with orders to collect from the bankers five lacs of rupees for the expenses of the troops, which he said amounted to 2,500 rupees a-day. The said bankers waited on Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and pointed out their inability to pay the amount: they said that they had been plundered of all their cash and property by the mutineers. Ramjee Dass requested the nawab to levy the money

himself. Mirza Aboo Bekr was sent with a regiment of sowars to punish and destroy the Goojurs at Chundrawul, but they had run away.

"19th May, 1857.—Two sowars came from Meerut, and represented that all the regiments of infantry, cavalry, and artillery at Moradabad and Bareilly, had arrived at Meerut with a few lacs of rupees; that the British complained of the treachery of the native troops at Meerut; and the troops replied that they had already revenged it by killing about 300 men of the sappers and miners, and that they themselves expected the same treatment at their hands. On hearing this reply, the English went into the Dum-Dumah and fired on the troops, who immediately erected a battery, and played their guns on the Dum-Dumah; by the will of Providence a shell fell on the spot where the English had prepared a mine, and blew up the Dum-Dumah, and along with it all the Europeans. The king and all the troops were very glad to hear this news, and fired shots of victory from Selimghur. Information was received that the collector of Goorgaon had left his post, leaving 17,000 rupees at Hursurookee Ghurrce; a hundred sowars and two companies of infantry went there, and brought the money, depositing the same in the king's treasury.

"A sowar of Bayja Bye came and mentioned that the Bye had heard of the massacre of all the Europeans at Delhi, but would not believe it; therefore she had sent to the court to inquire into the truth. The king replied that all the Europeans at Delhi had been annihilated, and ordered the sowar to go back to Gwalior, with two sowars and a shookka from himself, commanding the Bye to present herself immediately, with all her troops, before his majesty, and display her loyalty.

"The title of Wuzerool Moolk Moomalie Mohroosee (prime minister of the protected country), and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, ten pieces of jewellery, sword, shield, and a silver pen and inkstand vase, were conferred on Mirza Jewan Bukht, who presented ten gold mohurs to his majesty, in acknowledgment of the favour bestowed on him. Mirza Bukhtawur Shah was made a colonel in the regiment Alexander, and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, and three pieces of jewellery, was conferred on him. The Mirza, on his part, presented the king with two gold mohurs and five rupees. A pair of kettle-drums was granted to each of the princes who were made colonels to the troops. Nazir Mirza Hasun was ordered to present Koowur Ajeet Sing, of Putteeala, before his majesty. Accordingly the Koowur attended, and presented a gold mohur. A khelut was conferred on the Koowur, who gave another nuzzur of five rupees to the king. Mirza Ahmud, and the son of Hakeem Abdool Huq, attended the durbar, and presented the king with five rupees each. A rissaldar, sent by Mohamed Akbar Alee, attended, and presented the king with two rupees; he also gave an urzee from his master, representing that as soon as peace was restored in his district, he would present himself before his majesty. A Hindoo tailor had concealed in his house two European gentlemen, three ladies, and one child; but the rebel sowars were informed of it, and they went to the house of the said tailor, and, setting the house on fire, arrested the Europeans, and brought them before the king, who placed them under the custody of the sepoys. His majesty went to Selimghur; the troops there saluted him. The officers of the Bailly regiment stated that they did not believe the two sowars who had brought the news of the blowing up of the Dum-Dumah at Meerut, and therefore they wished to march on Meerut for the purpose of blowing up the Dum-Dumah, and murdering the English. The king answered that he did not think it proper to do so; however, they must be directed by the counsel of their general, Mirza Mogul. Two boats of the bridge on the Jumna having been damaged, Khotwal Kazee Fazoolah was ordered to send a hundred coolies for the repair of the same. Information was received that some moulvies and Mussulmans of the city had raised a Mohumdee standard at the Jumma Musjid, for the purpose of making a jahad on the British, who, they said, were infidels, and it was a virtuous action to murder them. Many thousands of Mussulmans had already collected there. The king remarked, that all the Europeans had been already murdered, and asked against whom had they raised the Mohumdee standard? Moulvie Sudrood-deen Khau went to the Jumma Musjid, and persuaded the moulvies to take off the standard they had raised. Some hackeries, laden with salt and corn, were brought in."

By the time these documents were read, it was 4 P.M., and the court adjourned until 11 A.M. of the 24th of February.

On the seventeenth day (Feb. 24th), the court assembled at 11 A.M., when the proclamation of the Bareilly traitor, Khan Bahadoor Khan, was read in the original, for the benefit of the prisoner; after which the translation was read by the judge-advocate, for the benefit of the court. The following is the literal translation:—

“Proclamation.—Now, all rajahs, bestowers of favours and protectors of religion, be prepared to defend your faith and that of those under you. For the hope of your success I appeal to you. The great God has given you all mortal bodies for the defence of your religion, as is well known to all. For the destruction of the destroyers of religion he has given birth and power to all princes. It is needful, therefore, that all who have the power should slay the destroyers of religion, and that those who have not that power should reflect and devise means to defend their religion. It being written in the Shasters, that it is better to die for one's religion than to adopt another. This is the saying of God.

“It is manifest to all that these English are the enemies of all religions; and it should be well considered, that for a long time they have caused the preparation and distribution, by their priests, of books for the overthrow of religion in Hindoostan, and have introduced many persons for that purpose. This has been clearly ascertained from their own people. See, then, what measures they have devised for the overthrow of religion.

“1st. That women becoming widows shall be allowed to marry again. 2nd. They have abolished the ancient and sacred rite of Suttee. 3rd. They have proclaimed that all men shall adopt their religion, going to their churches to join in prayer, for which they are promised honours and dignities from the British government. They have further forbidden that no adopted children shall succeed to the titles of the rajahs of the land; while in our Shasters it is so written, that ten kinds of successors are allowed. In this manner will they eventually deprive you of all your possessions, as they have done those of Nagpoor and Oude. To destroy the religion of prisoners even, they have caused them to be fed with food prepared after their own fashion. Many have died rather than eat of this food; but many have eaten, and thus lost their religion.

“Having discovered that this did not succeed, the English caused bones to be ground and mixed with the flour and with flesh, to be secretly mixed with the rice sold in the bazaars, besides many other devices for destroying religion. These, they were told by a Bengalee, would certainly succeed with their army; and, after that, all men would believe. The English rejoiced greatly at this, not seeing in it their own destruction. They then ordered the Brahmin sepoys of their army to bite cartridges prepared with animal grease. This would have only hurt the religion of the Brahmins; but the Mussulman sepoys, hearing of it, refused to use such cartridges. The English then prepared to force all men to use them, and the men of the regiments who refused were blown away from guns.

“Seeing this tyranny and oppression, the sepoys, in defence of their lives and religion, commenced to slay the English, and killed them wherever they could find them. They are even now contemplating the extermination of the few who remain. From all this, it must be known to you, that if the English are allowed to remain in Hindoostan, they will kill every one, destroying all religions. However, certain people of this country are fighting on the side of the English, and assisting them. I ask of these—how can you preserve your religion? Is it not better that you should slay the English and be with us, by which our religions and this country will be saved? For the protection of the religions of Hindoos and Mussulmans, this is printed. Let the Hindoos swear on the Ganges, and on Toolsie Saligram, and the Mohammedans on the holy Koran, that all shall unite and destroy the English, who are the enemies of their religion.

“As it is of importance to the Hindoo religion, that the slaughter of cows should not be permitted, all the Mohammedan princes of India have made a solemn promise, that if the Hindoos will join with them in the destruction of the English, the slaying of cows shall at once be stopped, and the eating of the flesh of the cow shall, to Mohammedans, be forbidden as that of the pig. If, however, the Hindoos do not assist in destroying the English, they shall themselves be made to eat the flesh of the cow. It may be, perhaps, that the English, in order to prevail on the Hindoos to assist them, will make a

similar promise to the foregoing, regarding the slaughter of cows; but no wise man will believe them; for it is known that their promises are full of deceit, and made only to suit their own purposes. They are lying and deceitful, and have always imposed on the people of Hindoostan. We shall never again have such an opportunity as this. Think well on it, and remember that a letter is half as good as a visit. I am hopeful that, having agreed to all above written, you will reply.—Printed for the information of the Pundits and Mussulmans, at the press of the Moulvie Kootub Shah, at Bareilly."

When the above document had been read, the judge-advocate informed the court, that with the exception of the evidence of two more witnesses, Mrs. Leeson and Rissaldar Everett, of the 14th irregular cavalry, the case for the prosecution was closed; the president, therefore, requested the prisoner to prepare his defence, and inquired how long it would take to do so. A week was asked for the purpose; but a member of the court thought this too long a time, as more than a week had already been allowed him—if he had only taken advantage of it—during the recent adjournment. It was finally arranged that the court should meet on Saturday, the 27th, for the purpose of receiving the evidence of the above-mentioned witnesses, who were expected in Delhi by that date; and that the prisoner's vakeel should then inform the court the precise day on which he would be prepared with the defence. The court accordingly adjourned until Saturday, the 27th of February.

On the eighteenth day (Feb. 27th), the court resumed its sitting. The prisoner was brought into court as usual, supported on either side by a servant, and was understood to be suffering from indisposition. The proceedings commenced by John Everett, rissaldar of the (late) 14th irregular cavalry, being called into court, sworn, and examined. The witness (a Christian) deposed to the outbreak on the 11th of May in Delhi. He was in the city at the time, and had been for some twelve or fifteen days previous. As soon as the firing in the direction of the magazine commenced, he, fearing for his own safety, betook himself to the premises of the late Colonel Skinner, his old employer, and remained there all the night of the 11th with Mr. George Skinner (son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner). The next day, having considerable doubts of their safety, they went to the house of Mirza Azeem Beg, and claimed his protection. (The Mirza was an old soldier who had served under Colonel Skinner). Mirza Azeem Beg promised them protection, and gave them as much as lay in his power; but fearing that the fact of his having sheltered them would become known, he applied to the palace for a guard to protect his house. This was refused; and soon after a party of rebels came, seized Mr. Skinner and witness, and took them in the direction of the Khotwallee. A party of the troopers (3rd cavalry) coming up, asked what was the use of taking the prisoners to the Khotwallee, and why they should not be at once murdered? Saying this, they seized Mr. Skinner by the hair, dragged him to the aqueduct running up the centre of the Chandnee Chouk, and placing him with his back against the masonry, shot him to death with their pistols. The witness, fearing that his own fate would soon be decided in a similar way, remained quiet, and, to his great relief, saw the murderers ride off in the direction of the palace. He was then taken to the Khotwallee, where he remained a close prisoner, with between twenty and thirty others, for some twenty-five days, when he was released, with his fellow-sufferers, in consequence of one Moulvie Ismael having interfered on their behalf, and stated that most of them were Mohammedans; and those that were not, were willing to become such. From this time the witness remained in the city, harboured and protected by one Majood, an African, formerly in the service of Colonel Skinner, and, at the time of the mutiny, in the service of the king; and when the British troops entered Delhi, he was able to seek their protection.

In reply to the judge-advocate, the witness stated that, on the 9th of May, 1857, two days before the outbreak at Delhi, about 11 A.M., the African above referred to met him, and endeavoured to persuade him to leave the government service, giving as his reason for so doing, that the Persians were coming to Delhi, and would soon murder all Christians, and overrun the city. The witness asked how he knew this; and Majood replied, that Seedee Kumber, another African (mentioned in former evidence), had been sent by the king of Delhi to Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining assistance to exterminate the English, and that the messenger went with others supposed to be on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality for the purpose above mentioned. The witness

replied to a question put by the judge-advocate, that he had heard the men of his regiment converse among themselves about the chupatties which were circulated, but they did not appear to understand why they were distributed. After the first fight (at the Hindun, or Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur), the prisoner gave out that he thought his troops (the mutineers) were disheartened, and reminded them that if the British once more set foot in Delhi, they would not leave one of the house of Timur alive. With the exception of what the witness had stated to the court, he does not remember anything occurring in the regiment indicative of a spirit of disaffection. The witness was then allowed to withdraw, and his statement was read by the interpreter, for the benefit of the prisoner and his counsel. Some documentary evidence was then produced, and the court adjourned till Wednesday, the 3rd of March, to allow the interpreter time to translate other documents necessary to the proceedings.

The following is the translation of a proclamation issued by the king of Delhi, on the 26th of August, 1857, and produced during the trial:—

"Seal of Bahadur Shah Badshah Ghazee, Mahammad Dara Bukht, Wali Niamut Khalaf, Mirza Karim Ul Sujah Bahadur.—It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object, that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Afgharistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abel Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here, to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeen or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos, who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been, and are still, accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade; and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation; and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise, if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly: as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip; for, in the field of opportunity, you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude, from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at

my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi government is well fixed.

"Section 1.—Regarding Zemindars.—It is evident, that the British government, in making zemindary settlements, have imposed exorbitant jummas, and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, insomuch that, on the institution of a suit by a common ryot, a maid-servant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned in court, arrested, put in gaol, and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscriptions for schools, hospitals, roads, &c. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi government; but, on the contrary, the jummas will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be exempted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his zemindary, and excused one-fourth of the revenue.

"Section 2.—Regarding Merchants.—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people; and, even in this, they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c., in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be opened to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own, shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British government.

"Section 3.—Regarding Public Servants.—It is not a secret thing that, under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence, and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen: for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subahdar (the very height of their hopes), with a salary of sixty or seventy rupees per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of Sudder Ala, with a salary of 500 rupees a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi government, like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of pansadi, punj-hazari, haft-hazari, and sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the posts of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge, secretary, and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of wezeer, quasi, safir, suba, nizam, and dewan, &c., with salaries of lacs of rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, kheluts, iuams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who will fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will undoubtedly go to hell. Therefore all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi government, and obtain salaries of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future.

If they, for any reasons, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of the passing events, without taking any active share therein. But, at the same time, they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country. All the scpoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation. Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money, according to the rates specified below, for the present; and, in future, the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers, and presents:—"Matchlock-men, per day, two annas; riflemen, two-and-a-half; swordsmen, one-and-a-half; horsemen, with large horses, eight; horsemen, with small horses, six—annas a-day.

"Section 4.—*Regarding Artisans.*—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of the English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisans has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government, the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore those artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens or religious fanatics engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"Section 5.—*Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other Learned Persons.*—The pundits and fakirs, being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and, as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war; otherwise they will stand condemned, according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated and property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death.—Interior of the Azimghur district. The 16th Mohurum 1275 Hirji, corresponding with Bhadobady Tij 1265 Fusly."

On the 3rd of March, the court assembled for the nineteenth time, for further evidence, and again adjourned until the 9th of that month; when the vakeel of the prisoner declared, in the name of his royal master, that he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he had been brought, and therefore declined to make answer to any charges brought against him. The public prosecutor then summed up the whole of the evidence adduced; by which it was proved, that, in defiance of existing treaties, the prisoner had assumed the powers of independent sovereignty, and levied war against the British government; and, moreover, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the positive orders of the king, in the presence of his sons the princes, and other individuals connected with the royal house, and by the instrumentality of the Khassburdars of his own special body-guard. The court, after a short deliberation, adjudged the prisoner, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, alias Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, guilty of all the charges alleged against him; whereby he became liable to the penalty of death, as a traitor and murderer: but, in consequence of the assurance given to him by Captain Hodson, previous to his capitulation on the 21st of September, 1857, the court, by virtue of the authority vested in it by Act XIV., of 1857, sentenced him to be transported for life to the Andaman Islands, or to such other place as should be selected by the governor-general in council for his place of banishment.

A very considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and in the meantime, the ex-king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace; in which seclusion he might, probably, owing to his advanced age, have been permitted to linger out the very few remaining years of his existence, but for the injudicious interference of individuals, who availed themselves of his miserable position to create political capital, for the purpose of impugning the policy of the government at Calcutta. Among these busybodies was a late member of the English parliament; who, while itinerating through India, stumbled upon Delhi, and, as a matter of course, among the other lions of the place, was permitted to visit the ex-king in his state of durance; and of which visit he subsequently gave the following detail at a public meeting held at St. James's Hall, London, on the 11th of May, 1858. Upon this occasion, the ex-M.P. for Aylesbury, in the course of a very animated speech on the Indian revolt, expressed himself, in reference to the late king, in the following terms:—"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi has not fallen in just punishment for his offences. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether or not he is punished. I saw that broken-down old man, not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace, lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet! As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and hy flies, and partly from want of water; and he said in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation; but is this a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women, too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16s. a-day. Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

This statement excited, as it was intended to do, a large amount of sympathy among those to whom it was addressed, and, for some time, opinion ran strongly against the alleged treatment to which the royal octogenarian captive was subjected; but at length the echo of the speech at St. James's Hall became audible even in the palace at Delhi, whence it promptly evoked a distinct and positive refutation from the individual to whose medical supervision the health of the prisoner and his family had been entrusted by the resident authorities. This gentleman, writing from Delhi on the 25th of June, 1858, quoted the allegations of the ex-member, and proceeded thus:—"I hope that the report of this speech is incorrect; for the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy. He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns), used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones. The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet; and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions. There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only. Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi is seven rupees per month—that

is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than three penny-worth of the common food in twenty-four hours, and that amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhal, sugar, curry, ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking. I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylums pass through my hands; and, in that institution, the dietary for patients of different social conditions is without stint—speaking of necessities, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than one penny a-day for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI."

After this official explanation, the personal grievances of the ex-king ceased to be a stock subject from whence to suggest charges against the authorities, either at Delhi or Calcutta.

For a considerable time, the destination of the ex-king remained undecided. By the sentence of the military commission by which he was tried, the Andaman Isles were indicated as the penal settlement to which he was to be transported, subject to the approval of the governor-general in council; but, as these islands had been chosen for the deportation of the rebellious sepoys and others taken in arms, it was probably not judged advisable to place the ex-king in close proximity to them; and some other, and more distant, locality had to be chosen for his residence. At length, it would seem that British Kaffraria was selected for the purpose, subject, of course, to the approval of the free settlers in that colony; as, on the 10th of March, 1858, Sir George Grey, the governor of the Cape and its dependencies, in an address to the local parliament, said—"A correspondence will be laid before you, detailing the reasons for which it is intended to detain the king of Delhi in confinement in British Kaffraria. You will find, from those papers, that this is an isolated case, and that no intention exists of transporting prisoners from India to her majesty's South African possessions."

In October, 1858, it was notified that the supreme government had determined upon the removal of the ex-king from Delhi to Calcutta; upon his arrival at which place, his final destination was to be declared: and accordingly, on the 7th of the month, the aged prisoner and his family commenced the journey, of which the termination was yet to them a mystery. The removal of the unfortunate group was thus described in the *Delhi Gazette* of October 13th:—"The ex-king, his family, and attendants, were brought from their place of confinement at an early hour on Thursday; and, after being placed in their several conveyances, were drawn up in line on the piece of road leading from the Lahore gate of the palace to the Grand Trunk road, where the former guard, of the 2nd Bengal fusiliers, made them over to a troop of H.M.'s 9th lancers, told-off for the duty. This was done in the presence of Mr. C. B. Saunders, commissioner of Delhi, Lieutenant Ommanney, the officer in charge of state prisoners, and some other officers who were present. A squadron or two of the lancers then trotted off as an advance guard, and the *cortège* commenced moving. The first palanquin carriage contained the deposed monarch and his two sons, Jewan Bukht and Shah Abbas (the latter a youth, the son of a concubine), the carriage being surrounded by lancers on all sides. Next followed a close carriage, containing the begum, Zeenat Mahal, with whom were Jewan Bukht's wife, her mother and sister, and an infant. The mother and sister of Jewan Bukht's wife were allowed their choice of either going or remaining at Delhi. They preferred the former. The third carriage contained the Taj Mahal begum, another of the ex-king's wedded wives, and her female attendants. Next followed five magazine store carts, with tilted tops, drawn by bullocks. These contained the male and female attendants, four in each cart, a party of lancers accompanying each. In this order the cavalcade progressed very well, until more than half the distance across the bridge of boats had been accomplished; when, all of a sudden, one of the bullocks in a magazine cart, probably discovering the nature of the load he was assisting across the Jumna, and finding it '*infra dig*' to do so, displayed his sagacity by a violent attempt to deposit his worthless burden in the river. As the companion bullock's understanding was not of the same calibre, he pulled in the opposite direction, and only one wheel of the cart, along with the refractory bullock, descended into the boat, a lamp-post luckily placed preventing a complete capsizing. This little event delayed the line some twenty minutes or half-an-hour; when, the cart and bullock having been replaced, the cavalcade recommenced its move onwards, and reached the encamping-ground at Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur, without further accident or delay of any kind. The band of the 2nd fusiliers played the lancers out of Delhi, and

by half-past 3 A.M. they were clear of the city. In camp, the principal prisoner and his two sons occupy a hill tent. A soldier's tent, with kunnant enclosure, is provided for the ladies of the zenana, and two others for the servants; the whole surrounded by a high kunnant enclosure. The prisoners are securely guarded by dismounted lancers, armed with swords and pistols, both inside and outside the enclosure; while pickets from the police battalion are thrown out beyond. The horses of the lancers—a whole troop, actually on duty over the state prisoners—are kept ready saddled; and the enclosed camp is very judiciously pitched between the lancers and Kaye's troop of horse artillery. Lieutenant Ommanney's tent is pitched just outside the enclosure. By all accounts the prisoners are cheerful; and the females may be heard talking and laughing behind their screens, as if they did not much regret their departure from Delhi."

On the 14th of October, the escort had reached Allyghur with its charge in safety; on the 16th, it arrived at Secundra Rao; and, on the 2nd of November, it entered Cawn-poor, without any effort whatever, on the part of the rebels yet in arms, to disturb the progress of the march, which, after a short halt, was continued to Allahabad, where the ex-king, with his family and attendants, were transferred to a river flat, for conveyance to Calcutta.

Upon the arrival of the flat at Diamond Harbour, Calcutta, on the 4th of December, her majesty's steam-ship *Megara*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found in readiness to receive the royal prisoner, for the purpose of conveying him to his final destination. The whole of the party who had accompanied the fallen majesty of Delhi were now embarked with him, to share his exile, and, by their sympathy, alleviate his punishment; but little feeling was manifested by any of them at the terrible calamity that had fallen upon their house. With true Moslem submission to the fate ordained for them, they even appeared cheerful; and, in the words of an officer of the escort, "were in as good spirits as if they were going on a pleasure excursion." Their actual destination still remained a state secret; but it was believed the governor of the Cape would be charged with the custody of the aged prisoner. The embarkation was conducted without the slightest display of feeling or demonstration of public curiosity: and thus the descendant of the victorious and magnificent Timur, was expatriated from the soil on which the throne of his mighty ancestors had stood, until torrents of English blood, wantonly poured out by their degenerate descendant, washed it from its foundations. A letter from Calcutta, of the 4th of December, gives the following detail of incidents connected with the final removal of the ex-king:—"On the 4th of December, at ten in the morning, the ex-king of Delhi, conveyed in the *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steamer, was taken on board her majesty's good ship of war, the *Megara*, which, for a vessel of the royal navy, presented a curious spectacle at the time, crowded as her main deck was with household furniture, live and lifeless stock in the shape of cattle, goats, rabbits, poultry, rice, peas, chattus innumerable, &c., &c., brought by the royal prisoner and his attendants, for their consumption and comfort. The flat was lugged alongside the gangway of the ship, so that the Delhi gentleman could step on board. Lieutenant Ommanney, of the 59th, who has had charge of him ever since he was taken, conducted him to this, probably the last, conveyance that will ever again serve him in his peregrinations. He had two wives with him, so impenetrably veiled that they were led below by guides. He looked utterly broken up, and in his dotage; but not a bad type of Eastern face and manner—something king-like about his deeply furrowed countenance, and lots of robes and Cashmeres. He was quite self-possessed, and was heard to ask some of the officers what their respective positions were on board, &c. A son and a grandson are with him: and their very first care on touching the deck with their feet, was to ask for cheroots—took things easily, in short. The ex-king, meanwhile, went below, and was said to have stretched himself forthwith upon a couch of pillows and cushions, which his folk had arranged for him in a twinkling. The whole operation of transferring him and his from the flat was quickly effected; and then the guard of the 84th regiment returned to Calcutta, while the *Megara* steamed away down the Hooghly for its destination."

The next intelligence that reached the English public, in reference to the royal prisoner, was by an announcement from Bombay, dated the 11th of January, 1859, which stated—"The ex-king of Delhi has been sent to Rangoon, in British Burmah, instead of

the Cape of Good Hope, the colonists of South Africa having refused to receive him. His majesty arrived at Rangoon on the 9th of December, and was to be sent inland to Tonghoo, a station on the Setang river, 120 miles north of Pegu, and 300 miles from Rangoon, in the vicinity of the Karen territory—a locality declared to be the most desolate and forlorn in British Burmah." Shortly after this announcement, the *Calcutta Englishman* stated, that the ex-king had sent in a petition to the government, to be forwarded to the home authorities, in which his pitiable condition and failing health was represented as a ground for the reconsideration of his case, and for his restoration to liberty, if not to his former state—a request not very likely to be acceded to.

In closing this melancholy detail of the career of a descendant of the Mogul conquerors, it will not be out of place to advert to the following singular occurrence, which took place at Cawnpore, shortly after the deportation of the unfortunate Suraj-oo-deen. Two of the princes of the royal house of Delhi had, it seemed, been living at Cawnpore from the earliest period of the mutinous outbreak, in strict privacy, under the disguise of fakirs, subsisting upon the alms of the charitable, without exciting any suspicion as to their lineage. Upon the publication of the amnesty, the two shahzadahs emerged from their concealment, and declared their rank and identity to the government representative at Cawnpore, at the same time claiming the benefit of the amnesty. This functionary was surprised at the appearance of two princes of whose existence he had not the slightest suspicion, and he immediately referred to the governor-general in council for instructions. As it was clearly shown that neither of these individuals had taken any part in the disturbances, and had in no manner forfeited their right to the provision they had theretofore enjoyed from the annual revenue allowed to the king, Lord Canning at once acceded to their application, guaranteed their safety, and granted a suitable pension to each; thus showing, even in its last transaction with the family of the justly deposed king, that British justice was still accessible to the appeal of misfortune, where guilt was not actually established.

ZEENAT MAHAL (EX-QUEEN OF DELHI).

THE materials for tracing the personal history of a princess, reared, from birth to womanhood, within the jealously guarded seclusion of an Oriental palace, are, it may readily be imagined, but scanty. Fortunately, however, in the present instance, the impediments to a brief consecutive memoir of the begum, Zeenat Mahal (ex-queen of Delhi; for some years the sharer of the fading splendours of the throne of the last of the Mogul emperors, and now the companion of his exile, and mitigator of his regrets), are less difficult to be surmounted, owing to the comparatively familiar intercourse that, for nearly the last quarter of a century, had existed between the British resident at the court of Delhi, and the unfortunate representative of a once mighty dynasty, whose dominion was now bounded by the walls that encircled his palace, and whose subjects were limited to the members of his own family, and their immediate personal dependents. The Princess Zeenat (whose portrait, from a miniature in the imperial palace at Delhi, accompanies this memoir) was a daughter of the rajah of Bhatneer—a territory in the north-eastern division of Ajmere, whose capital of the same name is situated 185 miles W.N.W. of Delhi. The father of the princess had for some years enjoyed the friendship of the Mirza Aboo Zuffar, eldest son of the emperor, Shah Akber, who dying in 1837, was succeeded on the musnud by the Mirza, who thereupon assumed the names and title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, being then between sixty and seventy years of age. The father of Zeenat had long, previous to the accession of his royal friend, held an important position at the court of Delhi, and was known to possess great influence among the princes of Hindoostan; and it is possible that some vague idea of a future struggle for the re-establishment of the independence

of the empire of his ancestors, may have suggested to the prince, Aboo Zuffur, the expediency of strengthening his hands for the possible contingency, by an alliance with a noble whose aid would, in such case, be of the first importance, through the exercise of his influence throughout the Mohammedan states of India. The Princess Zeenat, then in her sixteenth year, was therefore demanded in marriage of the rajah, her father, and was shortly afterwards conveyed, with great pomp, from the fort-palace of the Bhatneer capital to the imperial residence at Delhi. At this juncture the heir-apparent was in his sixtieth year; but the disparity of years appears to have been at all times a question of small significance when the selection of an inmate for a royal zenana was concerned; and the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Timur was of itself sufficient to counterbalance any objection that might be supposed likely to arise on the part of the young lady or her sire, both of whom were flattered by the prospect thus opened to the ambition of the one, and the girlish aspirations of the other. In due accordance with Oriental ceremony, the youthful princess was speedily introduced to the sexagenarian ruler of her destiny, who at once expressed his admiration of her beauty and vivacity, and designated her Mahal (the Pearl), which name she has thenceforth borne. The royal nuptials were celebrated in 1833; and Zeenat Mahal, the youngest, became also the most beloved of the wives of the future king of Delhi.

A short time after the celebration of the marriage, the father of Zeenat Mahal became an inmate of the palace of the Cootub, the residence of the heir-apparent; and the influence from which so much was expected by his son-in-law, was actively but imperceptibly employed on his behalf. The emperor, Shah Akber, in 1837, was gathered to his fathers; and Mirza Aboo Zuffur, then in his sixty-fourth year, ascended the crystal throne of Delhi.

The tact and assiduities of Zeenat Mahal had by this time riveted the affection which her youth and beauty had first inspired: she had also added the claims of a mother to the attractions of a wife; and the sovereign of Hindoostan, in his old age, became the progenitor of a line of princes, of whom Jumma Bukht, the youngest (born in 1840), is now the only survivor and participator in the misfortunes of his house.

Superior to the petty intrigues and female dissensions of the zenana, the begum, Zeenat Mahal, still maintained a firm hold upon the affections of her aged husband; and, by her prudence, became at last a necessary assistant at his councils, and the confidant of his ambitious but well-concealed designs against the supremacy of the infidel government by which he was held in thrall, and whose domination was a source of undisguised hatred and impatience to all the Mohammedan races of India. With such feelings, it may be supposed, there was no lack of grievances, real or imaginary, to keep a dissatisfied spirit in restless activity within the royal precincts. Among other incentives to discontent was a difficulty that arose respecting the succession to the musnud, which, considering the advanced age of Suraj-oo-deen, became a question of importance, and eventually of much annoyance to the king and his still young and favourite wife. The royal succession had furnished a topic for discussion within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king having then, as it is alleged, at the instigation of his wife, expressed his desire to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the government of the Company insisted on recognising the superior, because prior, claim of an elder son, Mirza Furrak-oo-deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, raged with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son suddenly died of cholera, or poison; the latter being a prevalent idea at the time. This opportune removal had not, however, the effect of settling the question, as there were still elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose prior right to the succession was recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter still persisted in her efforts to obtain the reversion to the musnud for her own son, and declared she would not rest until her object was accomplished. When at length it was formally announced, by the resident at the court of Delhi, that his government had determined that the son of the deceased Prince Furrak-oo-deen, and grandson of the king, should inherit all that yet remained of imperial power at Delhi, as the heir in a direct line of the existing sovereign, the hostility of the begum to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question among her partisans and the personal attendants of the king, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not

obtain for her son the throne she so much desired he should occupy. Such, at least, were among the allegations urged against the begum: but whether correct or not, it would seem there was no proof of her complicity, or, it is natural to suppose, it would have been produced during the trial of her husband.

Of the interior life of the imperial palace at Delhi, little is known; and of the occurrences that are allowed to vary the monotony of the zenana, still less is permitted to transpire beyond the walls that surround the miniature world. Of the begum, therefore, except as above stated, even tradition is silent, until the outburst of the storm which, in its wild fury, levelled the gilded pinnacles of her house in the dust, and drove her forth to share the doom of her dethroned and exiled lord.

The first intimation afforded by the various details which have appeared in connection with the occurrences at Delhi, in which the begum is personally referred to, is supplied in a communication from Mr. Greathed, the political agent of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, in attendance at the head-quarters before Delhi; who says—"On the 21st of August, an emissary came into camp from the begum, proffering her assistance to bring about an accommodation. The messenger was desired to inform her majesty that we were anxious for her personal safety, and for that of all women and children; but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace."

There is no doubt, from the revelations made by Mukhun Lall, the private secretary of the king, in the progress of the trial of his fallen master, that, during the siege, Zeenat Mahal took an active part in the deliberations of the royal council, and that, upon several occasions, her advice animated and encouraged the princes in their efforts to avert the catastrophe that, nevertheless, was inevitable. At the private conferences of the king, Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister; Hussun Uskeeree, the astrologer; the begum, Zeenat Mahal; and, generally, two of the king's daughters, were present, and by their councils he was understood to be guided.

From this time until it was resolved to provide for the king's safety by flight, we have no trace of the begum's interference in affairs of state. The circumstances attending the departure of the royal party from the palace to the village of Cootub, about nine miles from Delhi, on the 19th of September, and their subsequent capture, have already been related in the memoir of Suraj-oo-deen, the ex-king; and need not be repeated.* We must now follow the unfortunate begum in her captivity and distress; which we are enabled to do, by a communication of Mrs. Hodson, the wife of the gallant officer by whom the royal party was brought back to their prison-palace; and which lady, probably from that circumstance, enjoyed the privilege (if such it may be termed) of gratifying her curiosity by a spectacle which woman, except as a comforter, might have been expected to turn from with emotions of deep regret. This lady, accompanied by Mr. Saunders (the civil commissioner at Delhi) and his wife, appears to have visited the apartment occupied by the captive monarch and his family, in much the same spirit as she might have gone to an exhibition of wild beasts. But her sensations when in the presence of the aged prisoner, are thus noted:—"I am almost ashamed to say, that a feeling of pity mingled with my disgust." Surely apology was not necessary, because the instinct of a kindlier nature asserted its power for a moment in behalf of one so fallen and so wretched. But she proceeds—"Mrs. Saunders then took possession of me, and we went on into a smaller, darker, dirtier room than the first, in which were some eight or ten women crowding round a common *charpoy* (bedstead), on which was a *dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual-looking* woman, to whom my attention was particularly drawn. She took hold of my hand—I shuddered a little—and told me that my husband was a great warrior; but that if the king's life and that of her son had not been promised them by the government, the king was preparing a great army, which would have annihilated us. The other women stood in silence till her speech was finished, and then crowding round, asked how many children I had, and if they were all boys?—examined my dress, and seemed particularly amused by my bonnet and parasol. They were, with one exception, coarse, low-caste women, as devoid of ornament as of beauty. The begum, Zeenat Mahal, asked me to sit down on her bed (a great honour, as I afterwards found, but which I did not appreciate); but I declined, as it looked so dirty."†

After some months of delay, during which the fallen monarch and his family were

* See *ante*, p. 159.

† *Vide History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii., p. 169.

kept in close confinement in his desecrated palace, he was put upon his trial, as before stated, and, on the nineteenth day of the proceedings, was declared guilty of the offences charged against him, and sentenced to be transported for life.

The youngest son of the prisoner, Jumma Bukht, whose boyish levity on the first day of his father's trial had excited the displeasure of the court, and deprived him of the miserable comfort of attending to his father's convenience during the remainder of the proceedings, appears to have been the only one of the princes of the royal house who was not, in a greater or less degree, implicated in the sanguinary occurrences of the rebellion. This prince, the youngest and most favoured son of the king, by Zeenat Mahal, was consequently looked upon with some degree of commiseration by the government authorities, and, for some time, was treated with indulgent consideration, as well on account of his youth as of his innocence from blame. This conduct at length awakened a sort of jealous feeling among the Europeans in Delhi; who, in their eagerness for retributive justice, fancied, in the attentions shown to the innocent son, they could discover an undue leaning towards the guilty father. At first, the youth had been allowed to accompany British officers in their evening rides, and to visit them at their quarters; but the current of indignation and hatred had set in against the house of Delhi, and it was not endured that any member of it should be exempt from the penalty which the offences of its head had brought down upon his race. Jumma Bukht, therefore, was subjected to a species of captivity within the walls of the palace enclosure; but, as no charge could be alleged or proved against him, of any complicity in the outbreak of May, or in any of the proceedings that followed, it was conceded to his earnest appeal that, on account of the king's great age and increasing infirmity, the prince should be permitted, under certain restrictions, to accompany his father into exile.

In a case of such importance as that which involved the future destiny of one who had inherited a royal name, and was yet, even in his fallen state, the acknowledged representative of an illustrious line of Eastern sovereigns, it became requisite that mature deliberation should be exercised, and that the highest authority should be afforded an opportunity to reverse or ratify the sentence passed upon the fallen occupant of a throne, by a court composed of three or four British officers. It was also necessary to determine the course to be adopted with regard to the female members of the royal establishment, whose destiny was interwoven with that of the prisoner, to whom the brightest days of their existence had been devoted, and who were now crushed by the blow that had prostrated him. The zenana of the aged king contained a number of females of rank; who, by the result of the insurrection, were now wholly dependent upon the liberality of the British government for the means of even daily subsistence. They were all without resources, and had been spoiled of their jewels and valuable ornaments by the rude grasp of unsympathising victors, or by the treachery of their servants, who had fled from them in the hour of peril. The condition of these ladies was alike pitiable and embarrassing, until the generosity of the government afforded them relief from the distress by which they were surrounded.

The ex-king was himself permitted to choose such of his wives as he preferred, to accompany him in the desolate path that lay between him and the grave; and, having made his selection, the ladies were next consulted as to their willingness to share the rigours of his exile. Of those named by the prisoner, several at once recoiled from the cheerless future to which his partiality had invited them; but Zeenat Mahal, whose girlish attachment had long settled into a calm and enduring friendship for one who, a quarter of a century previous, had placed her by his side on the throne of the Moguls, determined for one to share his fate, and to consummate, in a far-off land, the singular vicissitudes that had accompanied her existence. One other of the wives of the ex-king emulated the example and the fidelity of Zeenat Mahal; and by those only of the royal zenana was the offer of the government to accompany the prisoner accepted.

For these ladies, suitable provision had to be made. They were not criminals; and it was not by their act that the palace-home and royal state of the king of Delhi had become changed to a prison-tent and a convict's fare. To have treated them with harshness or parsimoniously in the alternative they had adopted, would, it was felt, have been unworthy of the government which had established itself upon the ruins of their state. A sufficient allowance was, therefore, promptly granted for their maintenance; and, with a delicacy

that should ever characterise an English gentleman, strict orders were issued by the governor-general, that, as regarded these ladies and their female attendants, the most rigid deference to their habits and customs should be observed by the guard placed over the prison-tents of the exiles, that, as much as possible, every unnecessary wound to their feelings and remembrance might be spared.

The time at length arrived for carrying the sentence of the court into effect ; and the ex-king, accompanied by Zeenat Mahal, her son, and one other of the wives of the prisoner, were removed from Delhi to Allahabad, from whence they were conveyed by steamer to Calcutta, and there placed on board H.M.'s ship *Megara*, for transportation to their future home.

Availing herself of the permission granted by government, Zeenat Mahal had, as we have seen, with true woman's fidelity, determined to share the destiny of her husband. Her father had already paid the debt of nature ; but the youngest of her sons, Jumma Bukht, remained to her, and, like herself, was free to choose a path through the future intricacies of life ; and each made a noble choice, that might atone for many faults. The wife and the son descended from the steps of a throne to the deck of a convict ship, that the few remaining years of him to whom they owed affection and obedience, might not be utterly without solace amidst the desolation that had overwhelmed him.



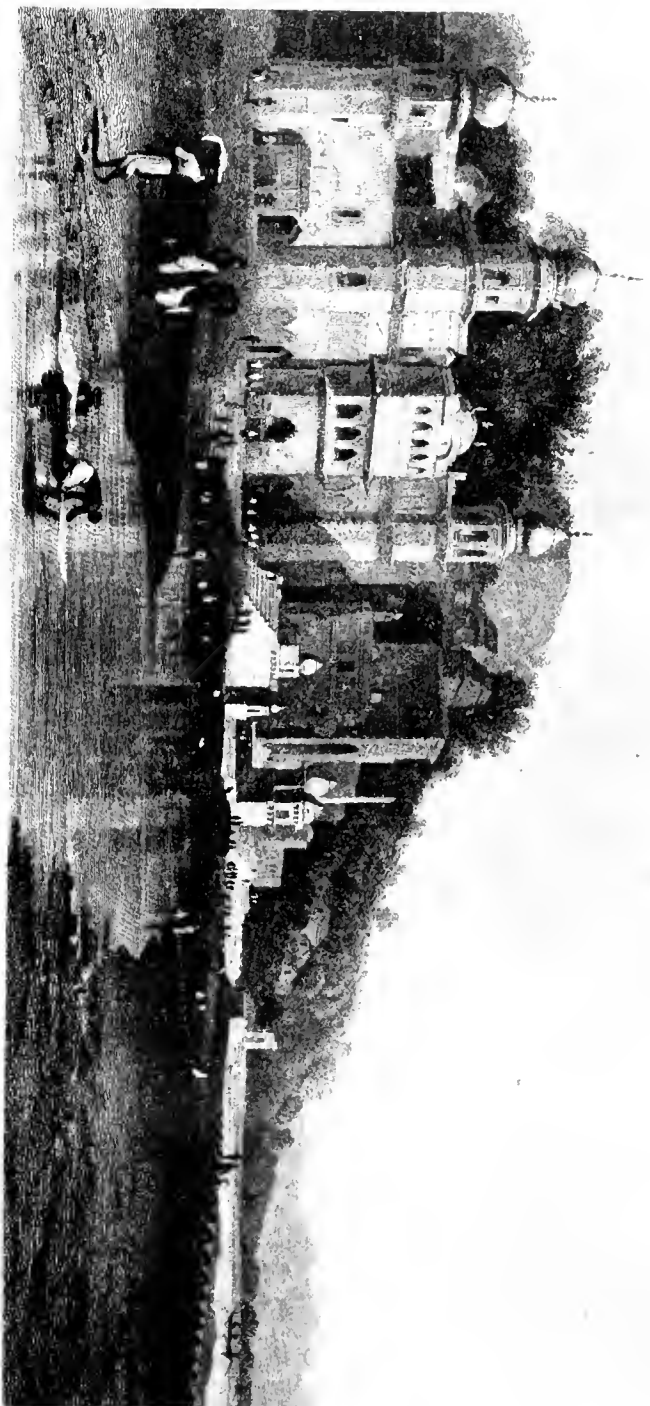
**TROOPS ENCAMPED AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE KEREE PASS,
NORTH OF MEERUT**

About 80 Miles Distant From Delhi.



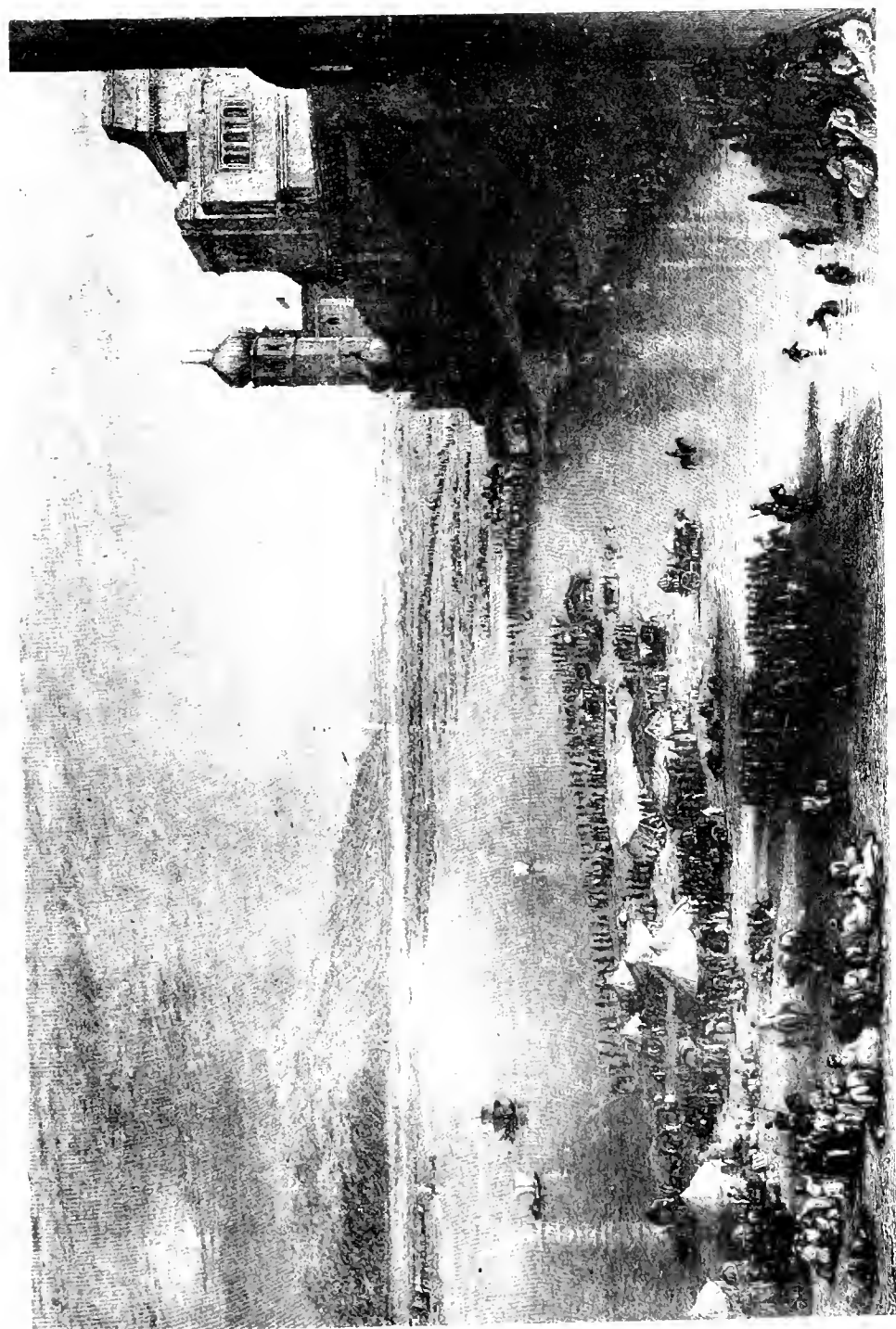
THE GANGES ENTERING THE PLAINS NEAR HURDWAR

The Ganges is the principal river of India, traversing the centre of the presidencies of Bengal and Agra. Between Hurdwar and Allahabad the river is from 1 to $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles broad, below it increases to as much as 3 miles in breadth and 30 feet in depth. Its total length is 1500 miles

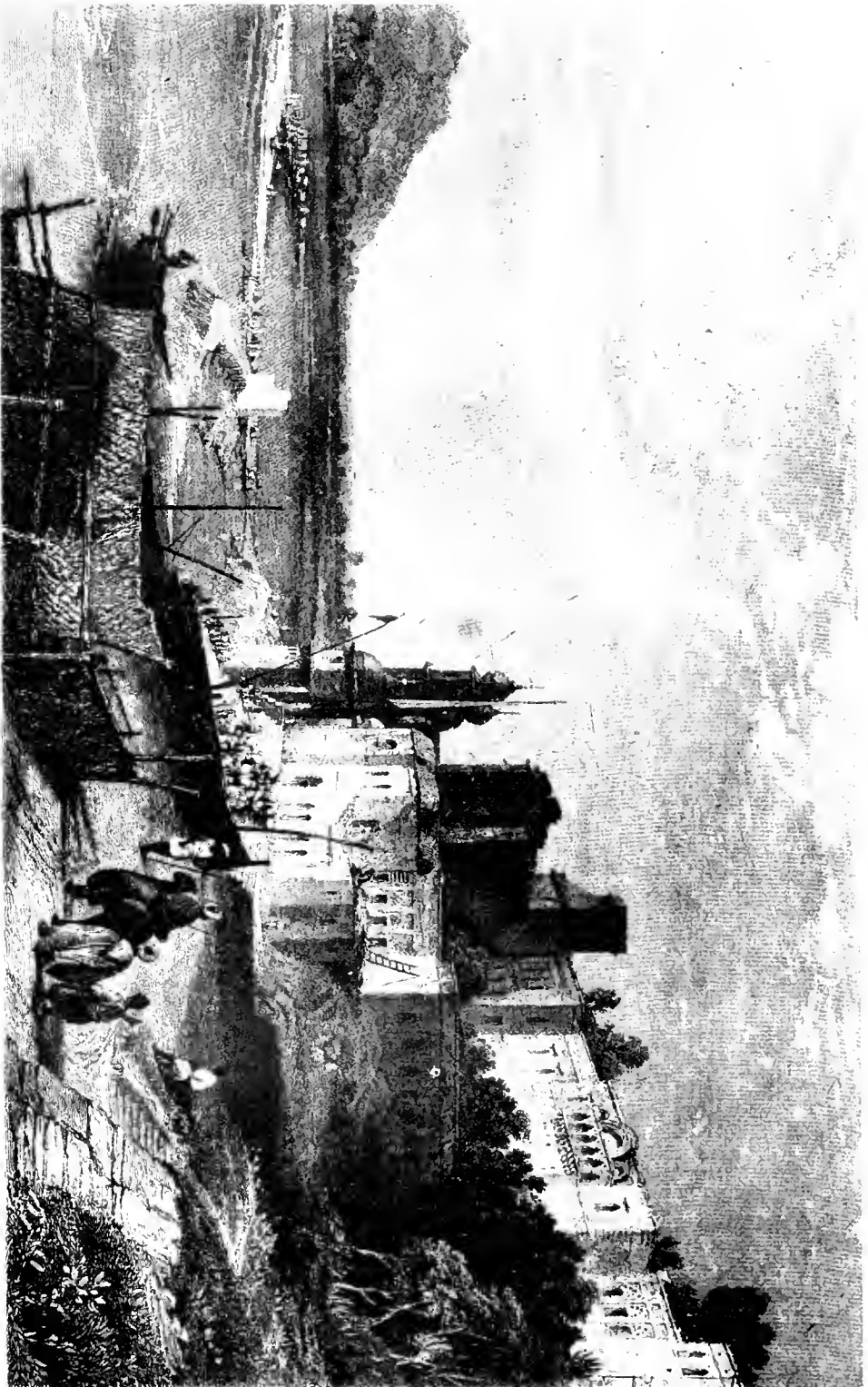


HURDWAR, A PLACE OF HINDOO PILGRIMAGE





ASSEMBLAGE OF PILGRIMS BEFORE HURDWAR, IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY



HURDWAR—THE GATE OF HARI, OR VISHNOO



MUSSOOREE AND THE DHOON, FROM LANDOUR



THE ABBEY AND HILLS FROM NEAR MUSSOOREE, ON THE JUMNA



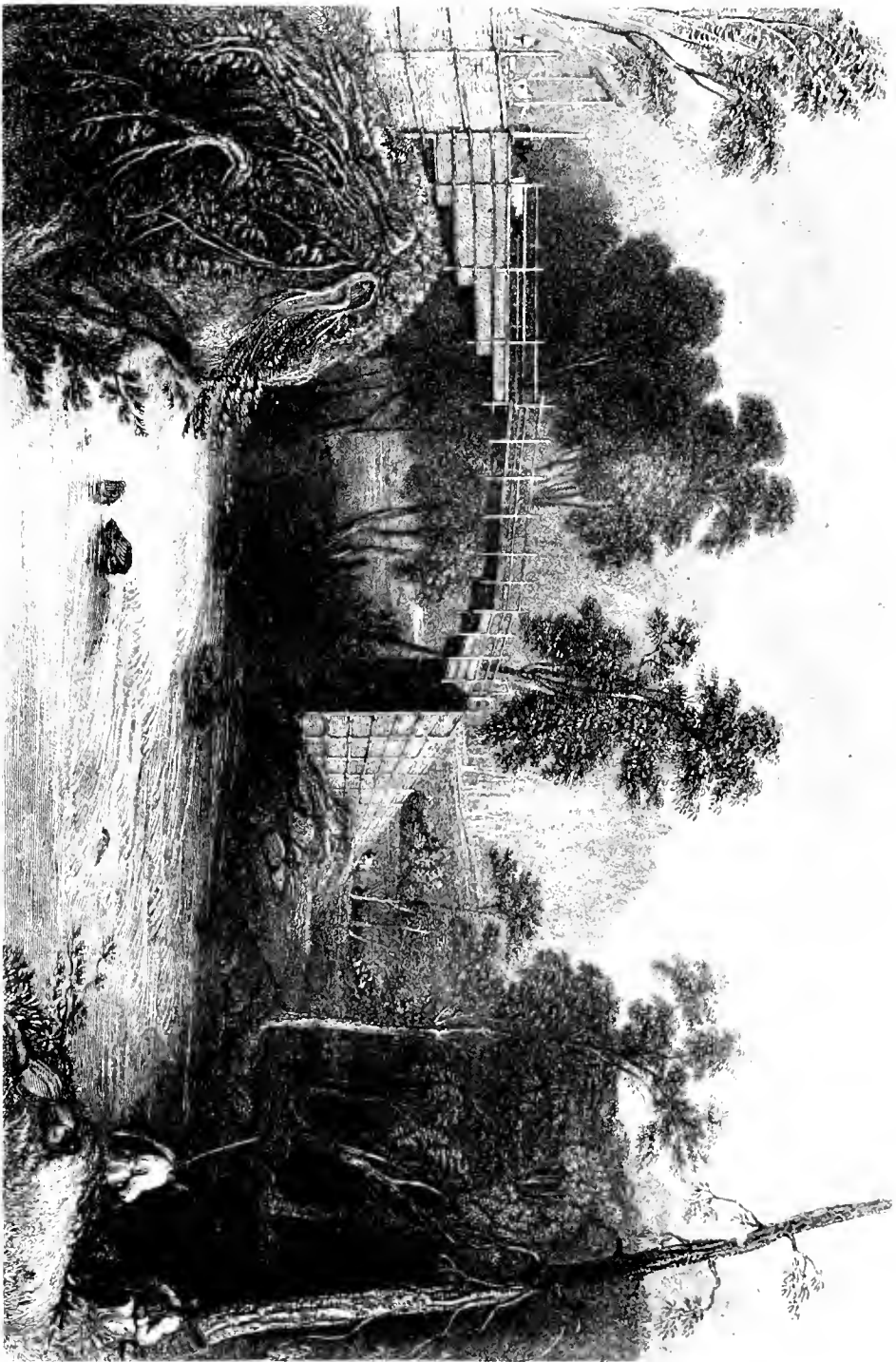
SNOWY RANGE, FROM LANDOUR



SNOWY RANGE, FROM TYNE OR MARMA



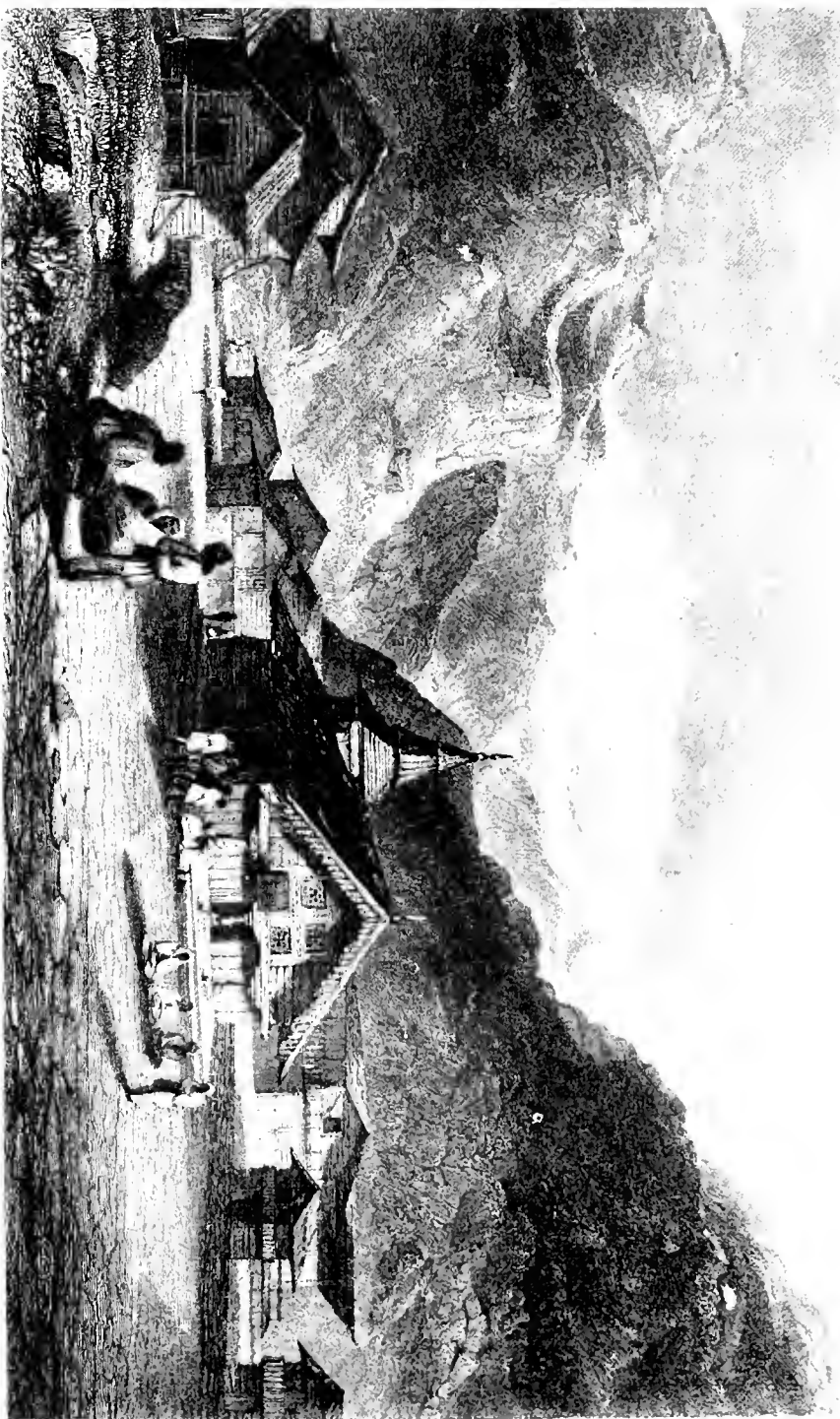
VILLAGE OF NAREE



BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE



VIEW NEAR KURSALEE



KURSALEE—A VILLAGE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SIMLA



VIEW ON THE RIVER JUMNA

The length of the Jumna is 680 miles : on it are situated the cities of Delhi and Agra



FALLS NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE JUMNA, ABOVE DELHI



**FUGITIVE SEPOYS TAKING REFUGE IN A MOUNTAIN FASTNESS, NEAR
JUMNOOTREE, ON THE JUMNA**



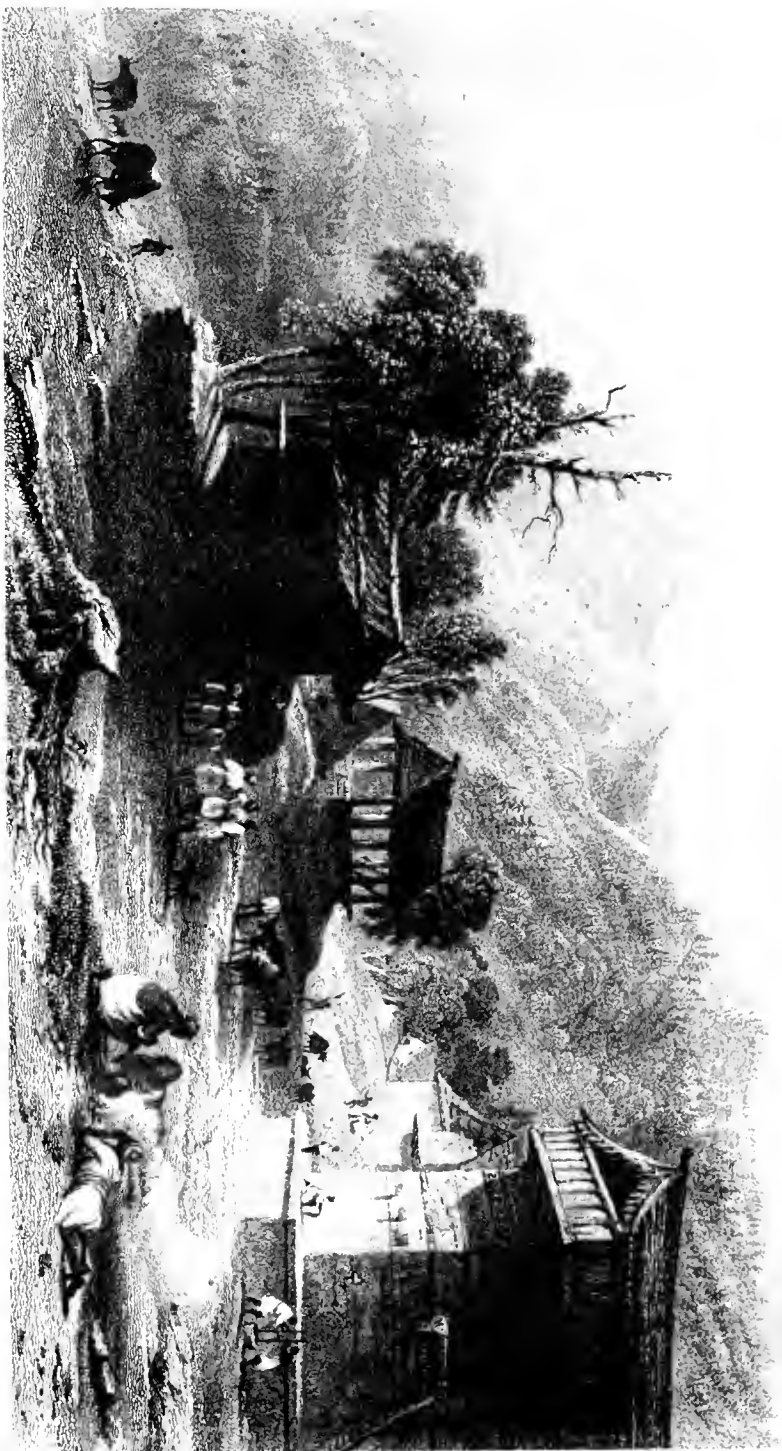
THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS, NOTHERN BENGAL, IN WHICH THE RIVER JUMNA
TAKES ITS RISE



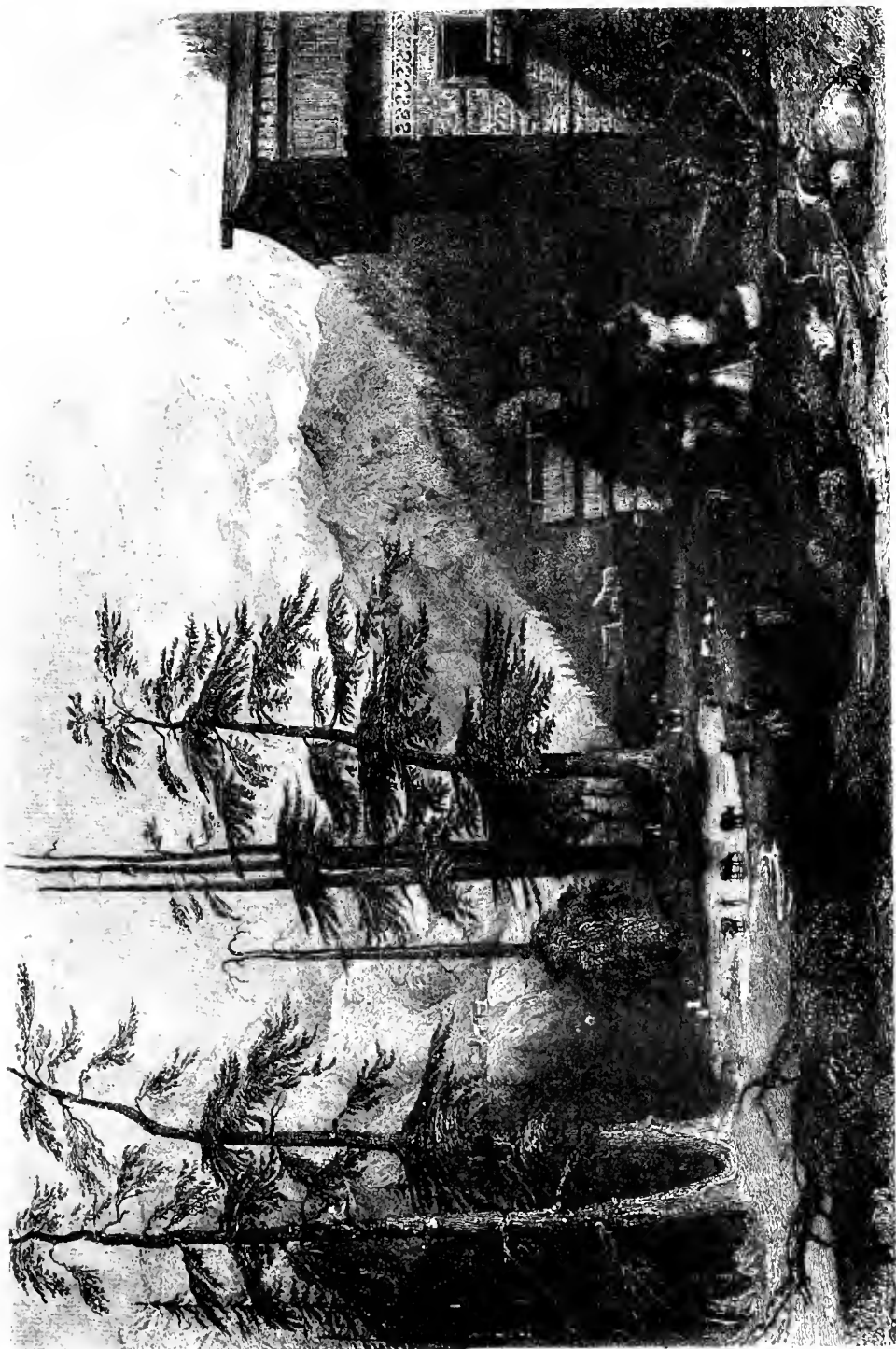
**FUGITIVE SEPOYS CROSSING THE RIVER TONSE—A
TRIBUTARY OF THE JUMNA—BY A JHOOLA**



GUNGOOTREE, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES



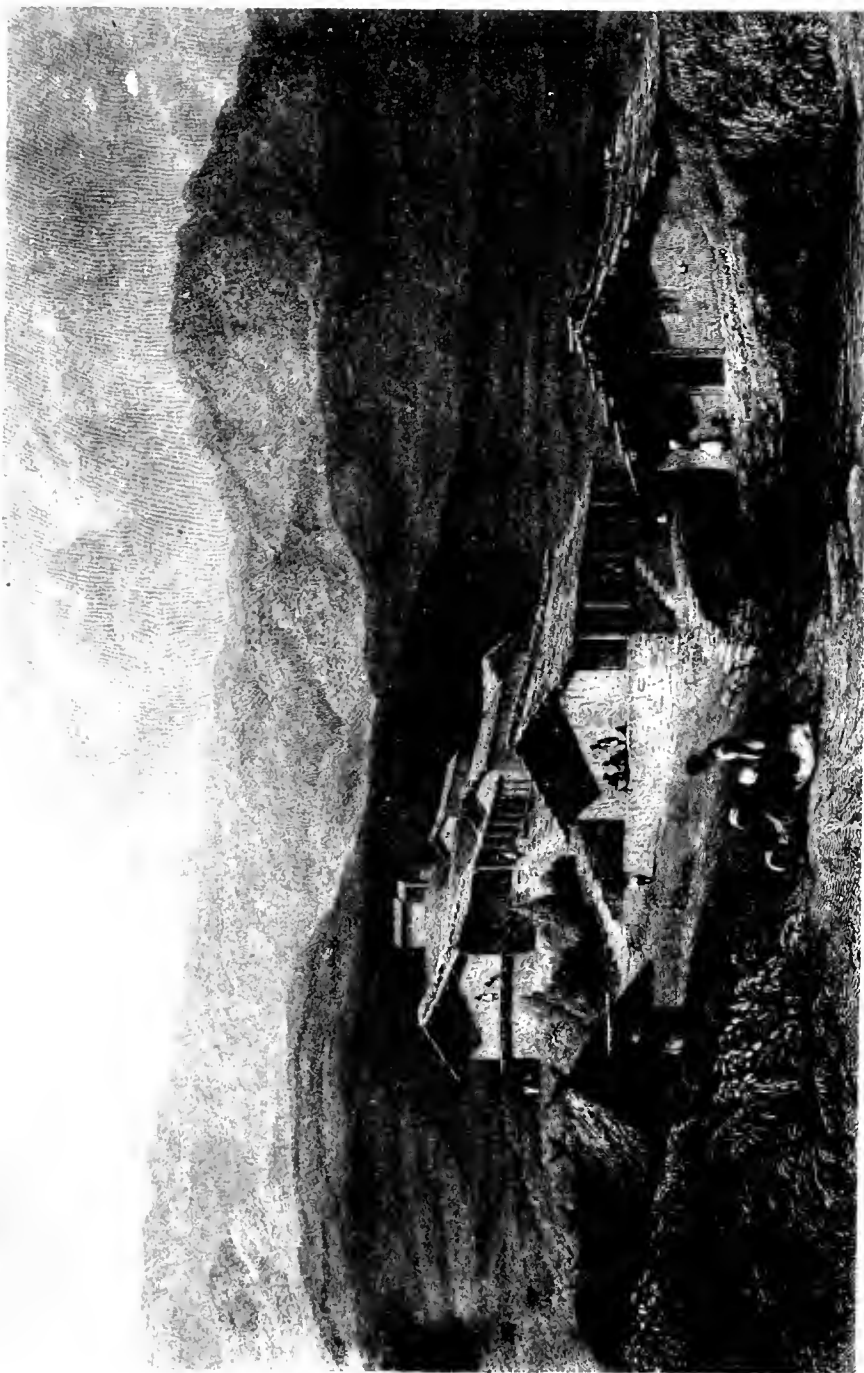
THE VILLAGE OF KHANDOO, HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS



VILLAGE OF KOGHERA & DEODAR FOREST



THE CHOOR MOUNTAINS



JERDAIR —A HILL VILLAGE—GURWALL



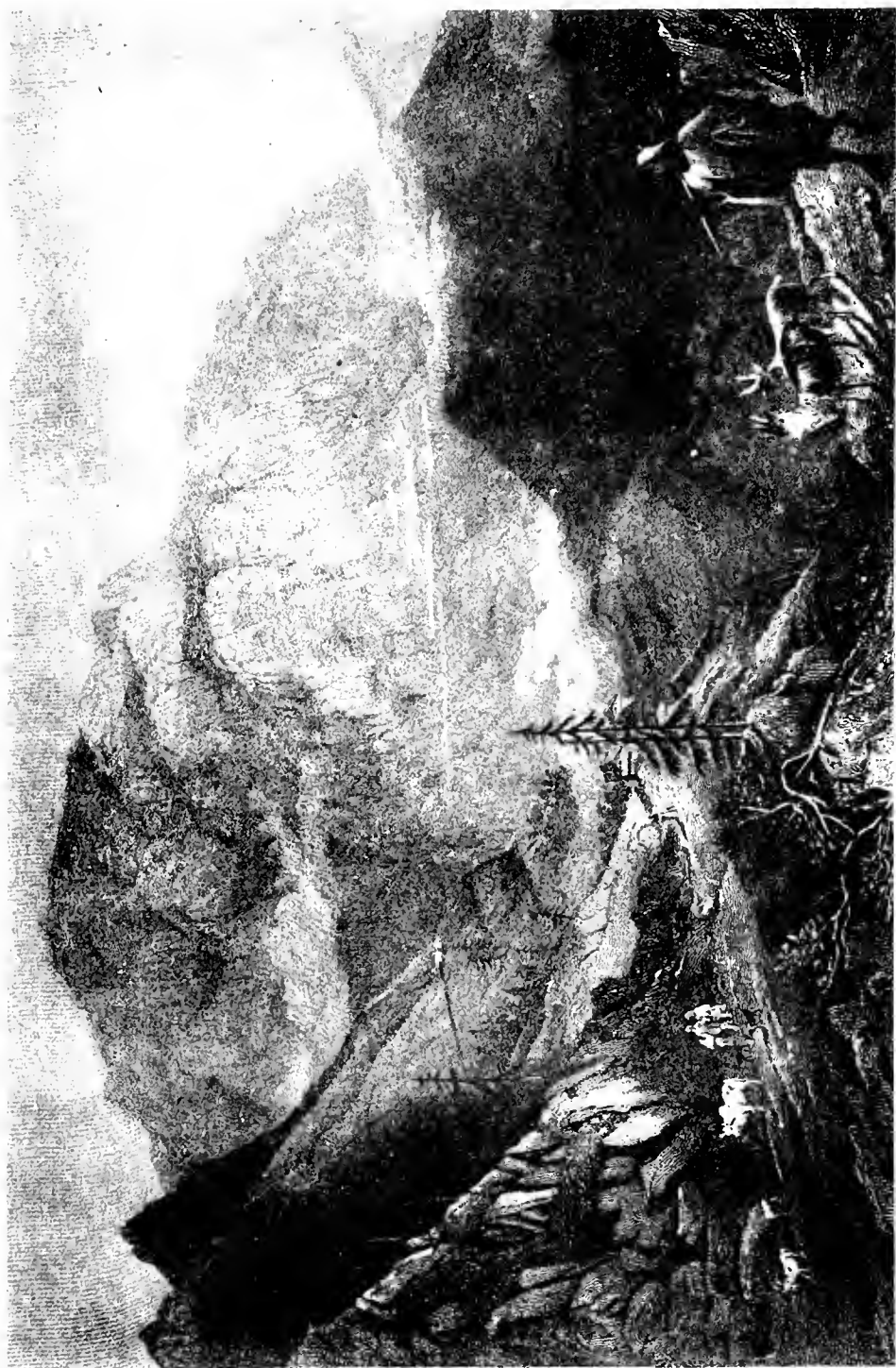
GRASS ROPE BRIDGE AT TEREE—CURWALL



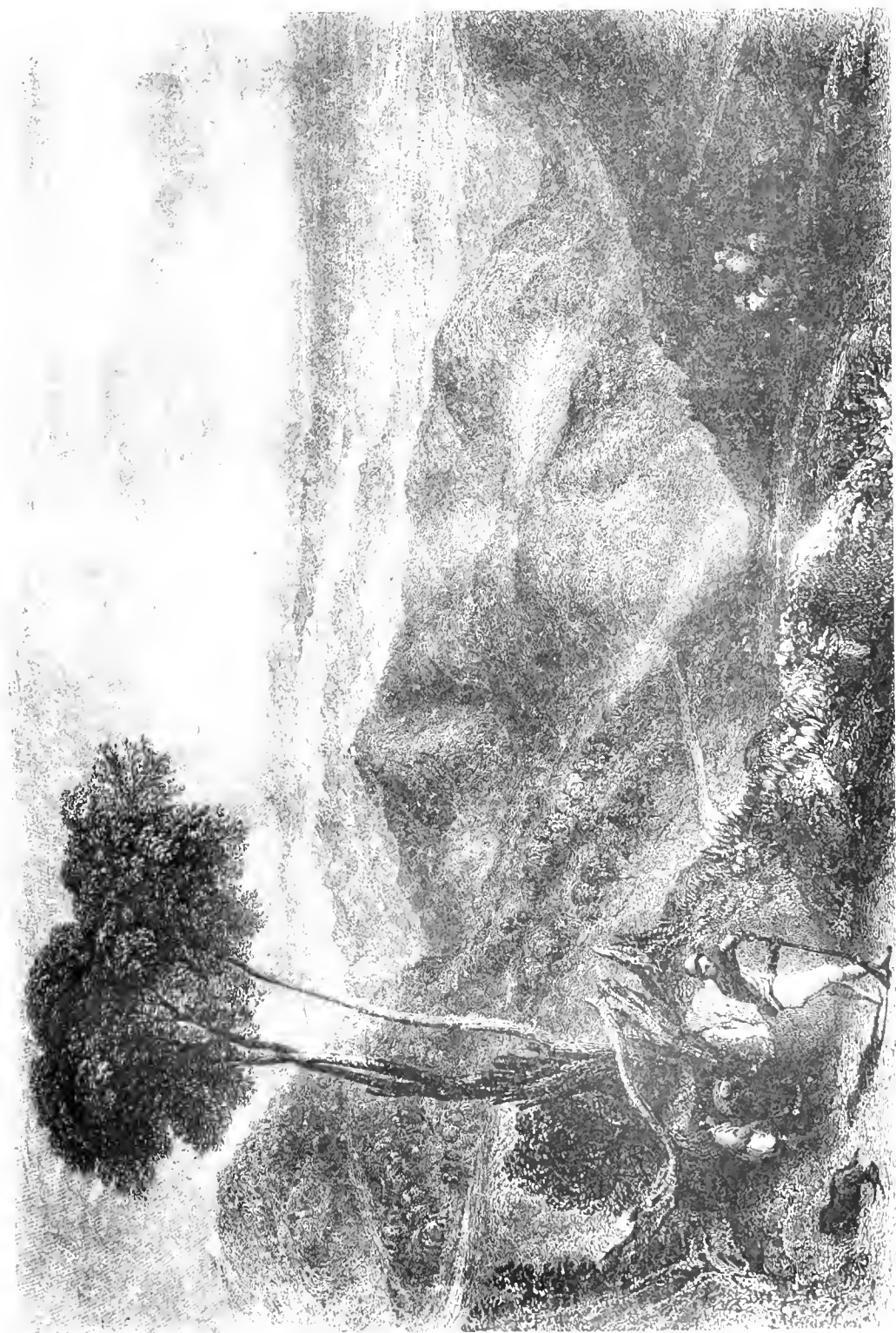
VIEW NEAR JUBBERA, NORTHERN BENGAL



VIEW AT DEOBUN, NEAR UMBALLAH



MOHUNA, NEAR DEOBUN



VALLEY OF THE DHOON, HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS

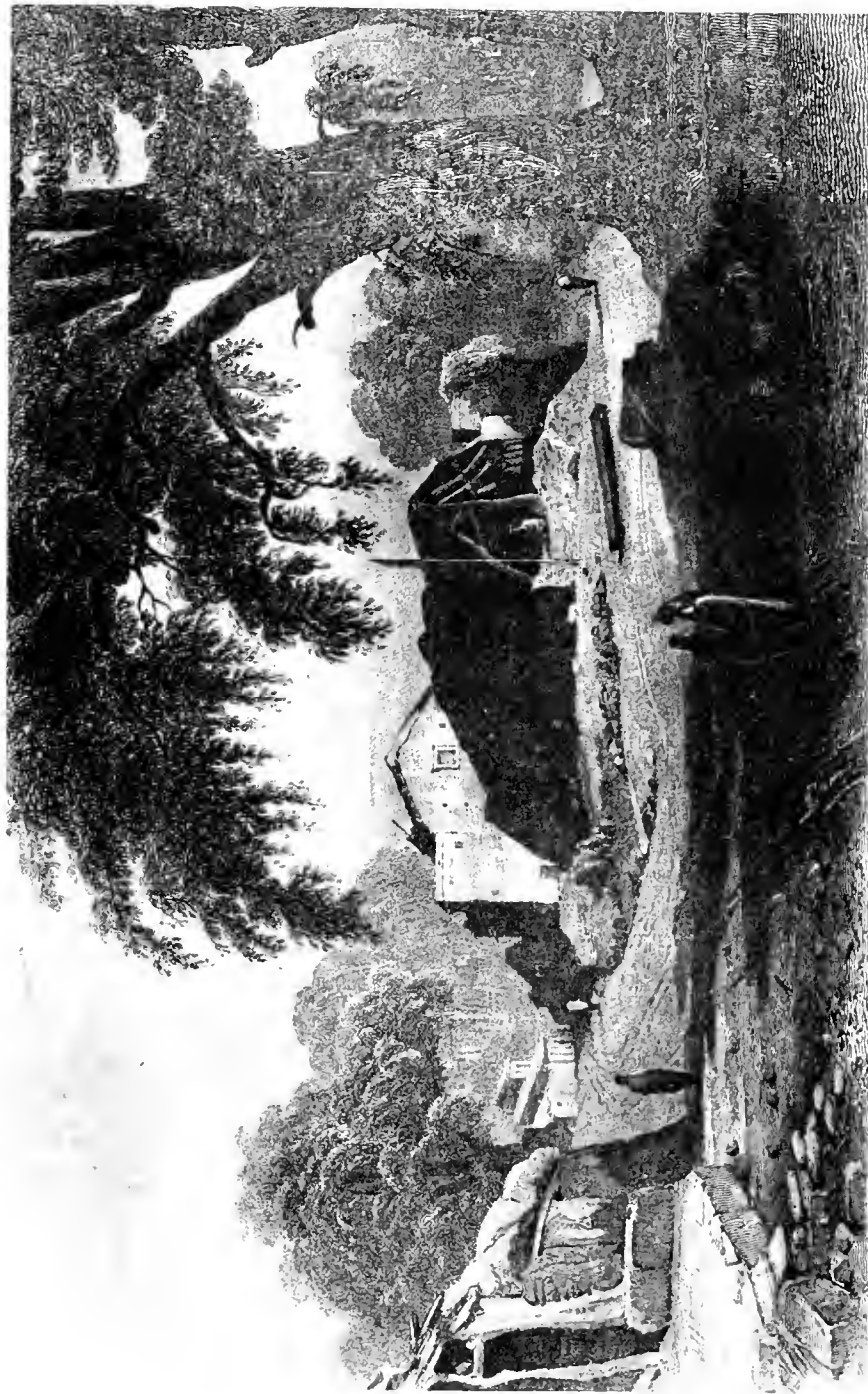


THE FORTRESS OF NAHAN IN THE DOMINION OF OUDE



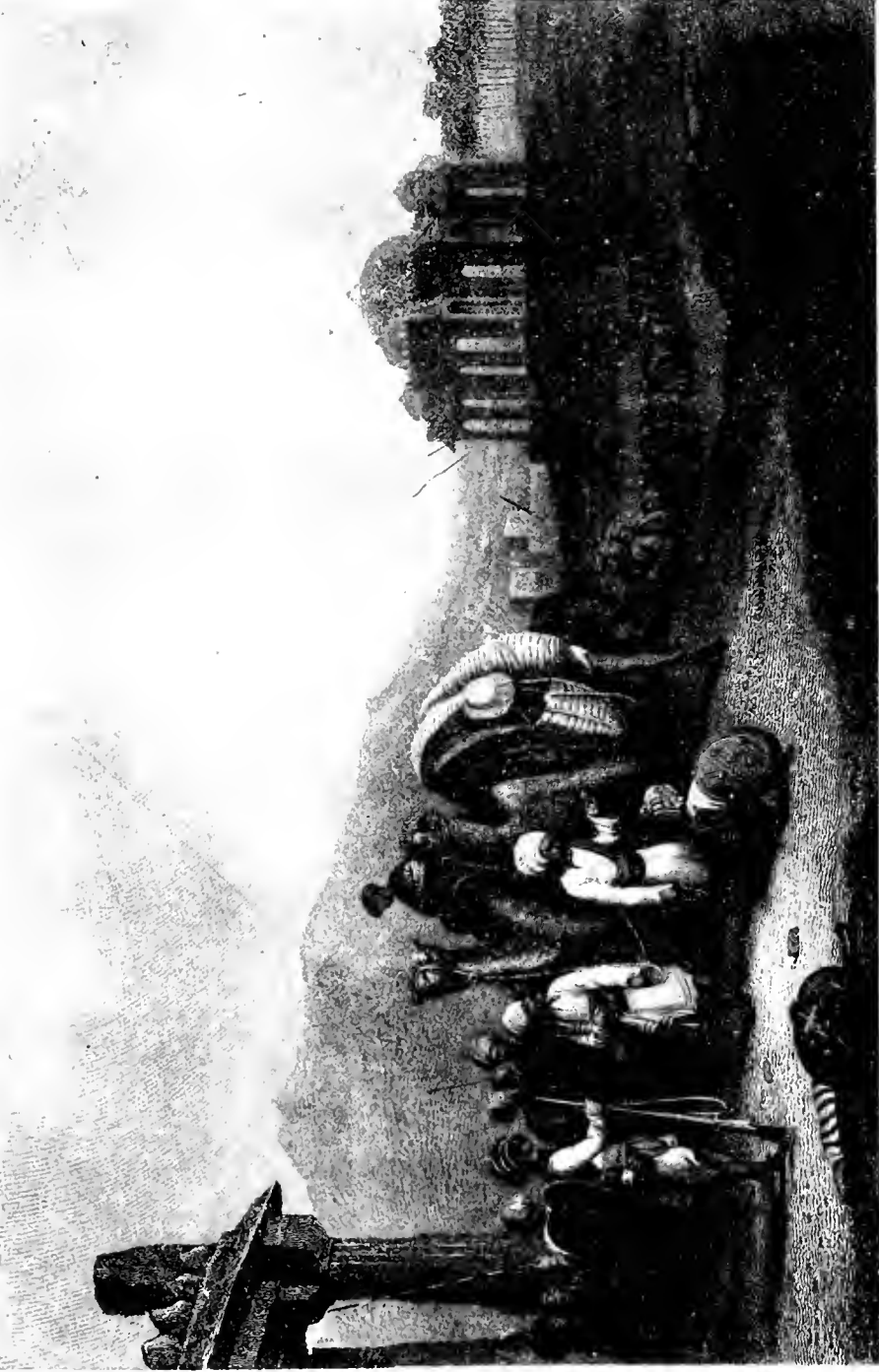
FORTRESS OF BOWRIE, IN RAJPOOTANA

The Rajpoots are the most warlike people in India and a large number of them were enrolled as sepoys in the Indian army. Nernuch and Nusseerabad, where mutinies broke out, are situated in Rajpootana

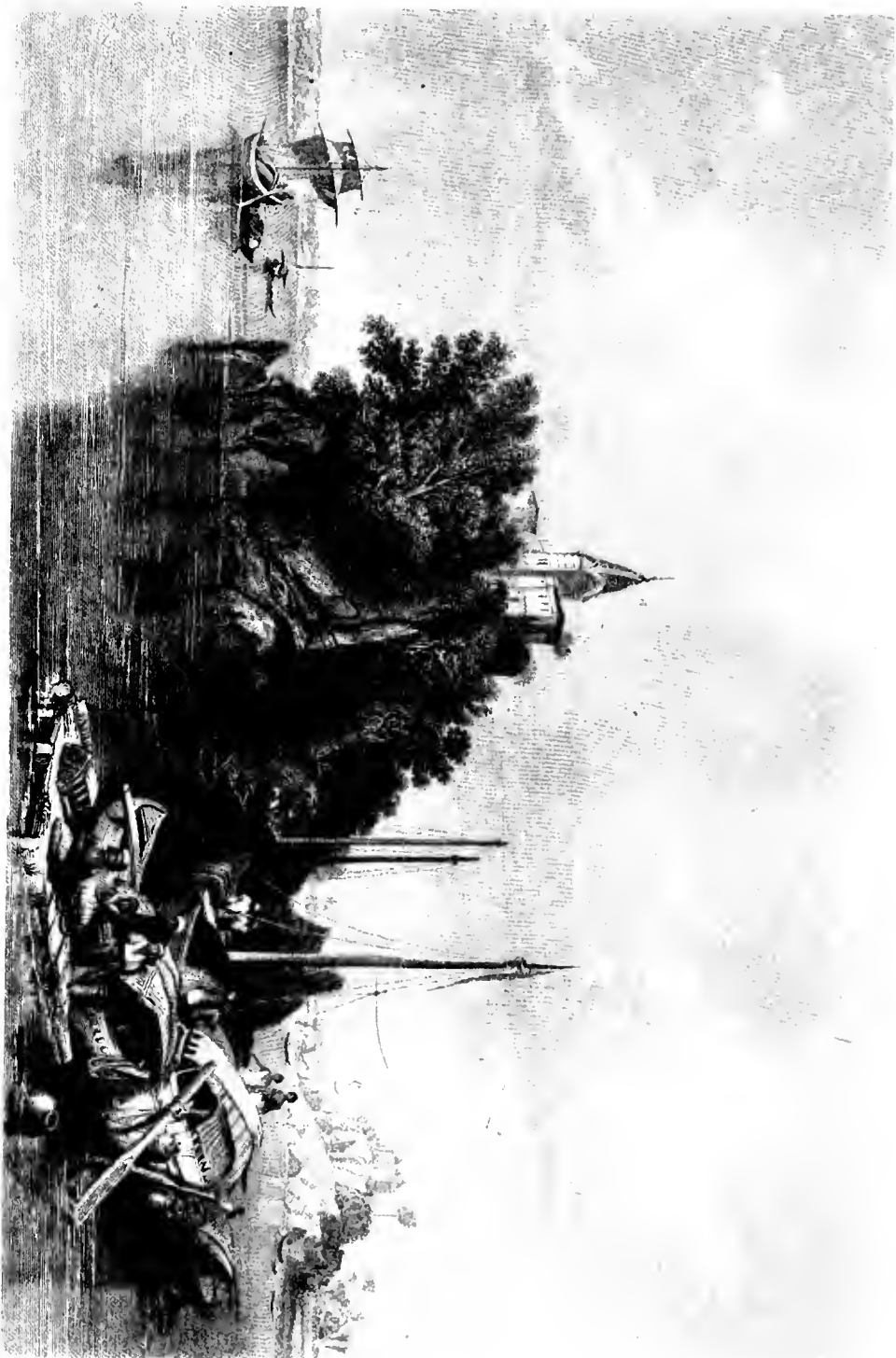


THE PASS OF MAKUNDRA

This celebrated pass is situated about 38 miles from Kotah in the province of Malwa. In this province Brigadier Stuart defeated a large body of the Indore Mutineers at Dhar on the 20th of October 1857



SCENE IN KATTIA WAR, - TRAVELLERS & ESCORT



JANGHERA, OR THE FAKERS ROCK, ON THE GANGES



SCENE AT COLGONG ON THE GANGES

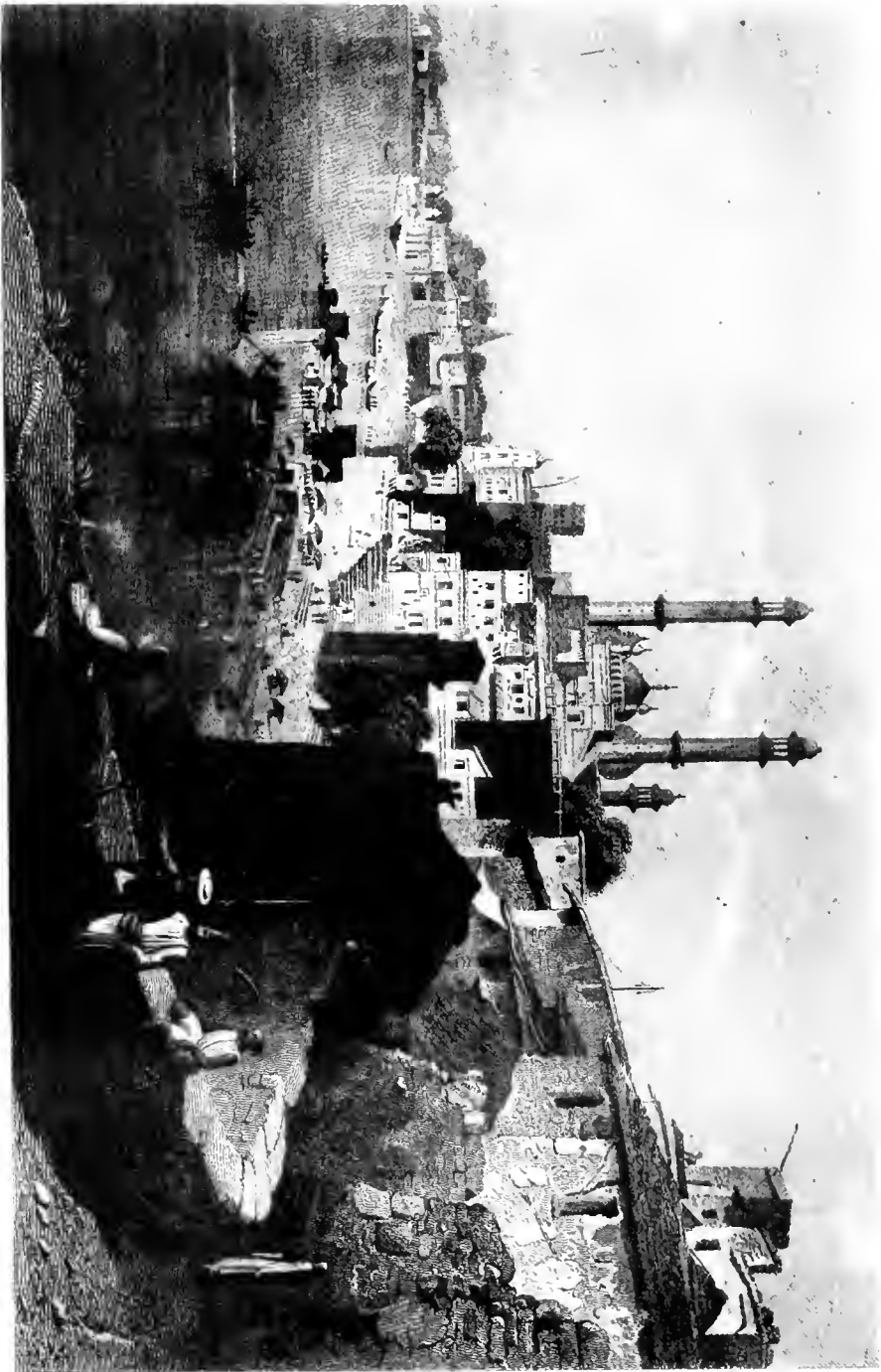


ARRIVAL OF CONTINGENT FORCE OF SIKH IRREGULAR CAVALRY

The Sikhs, although so lately annexed have throughout the whole of the Native Insurrection proved exceedingly faithful to British interests

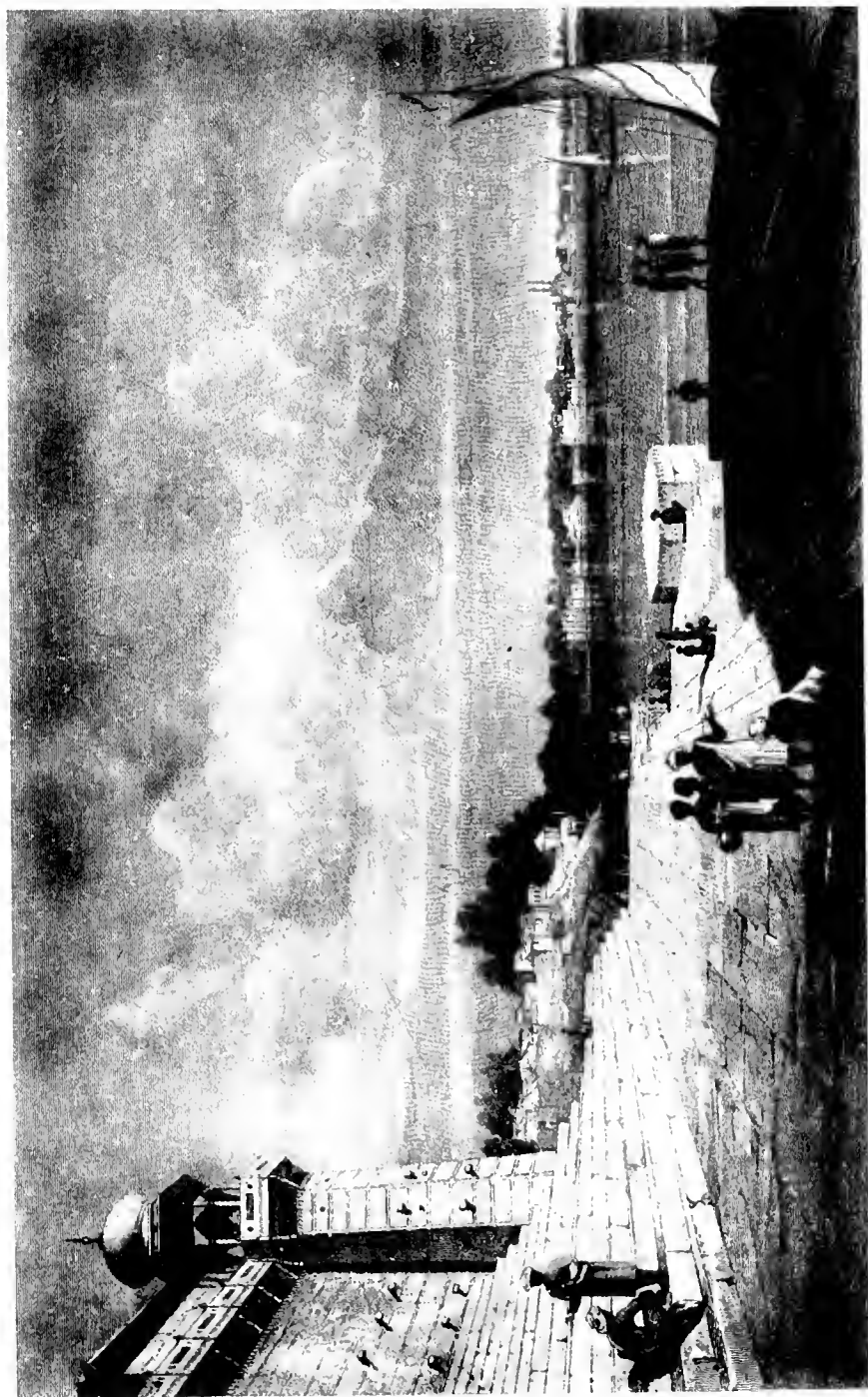


TOMB OF SHERE SHAH, BEJAPORE



THE CITY OF BENARES

This city contains a population of about 600,000 and is situated on the Ganges, midway between Calcutta and Delhi

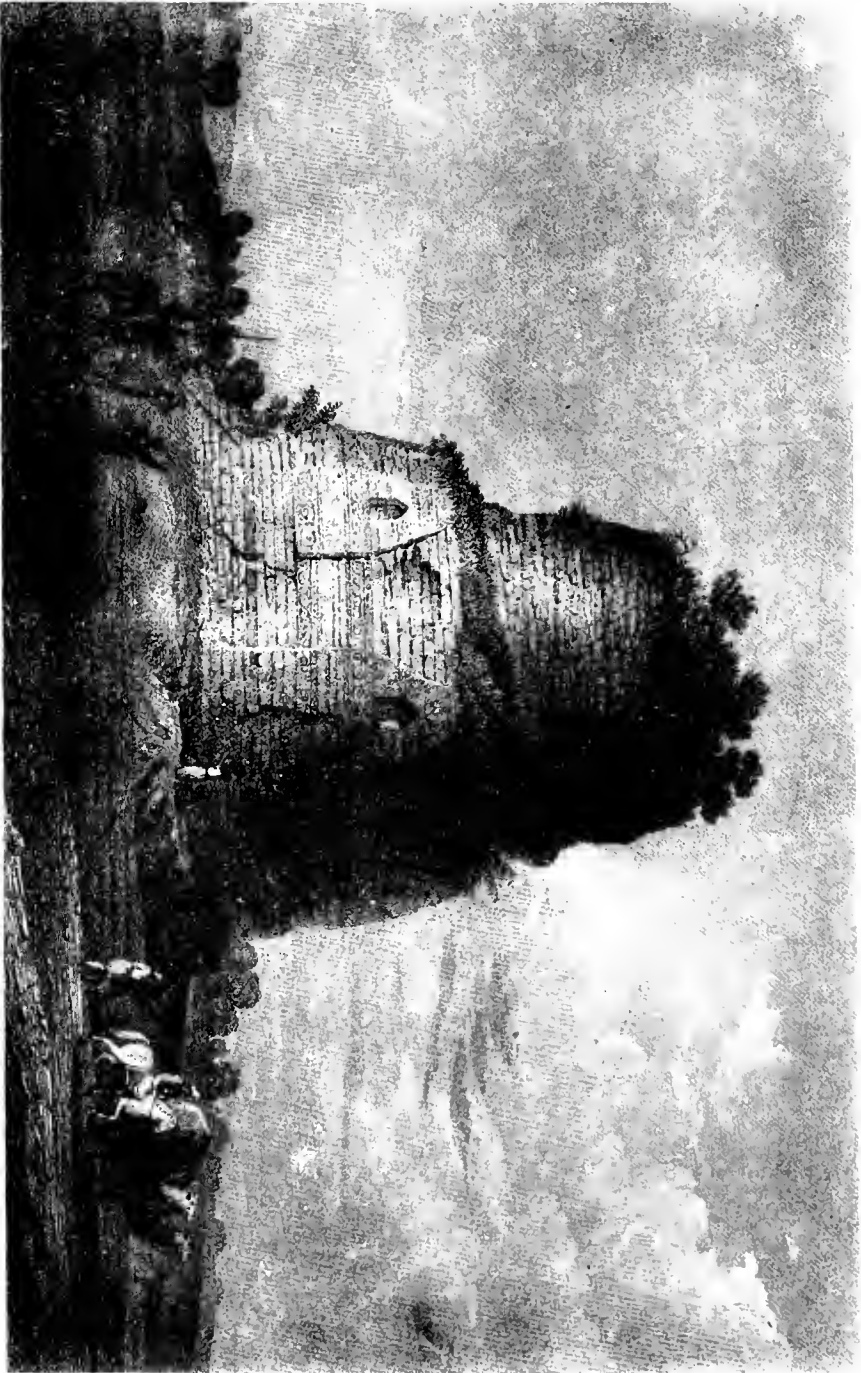


BENARES

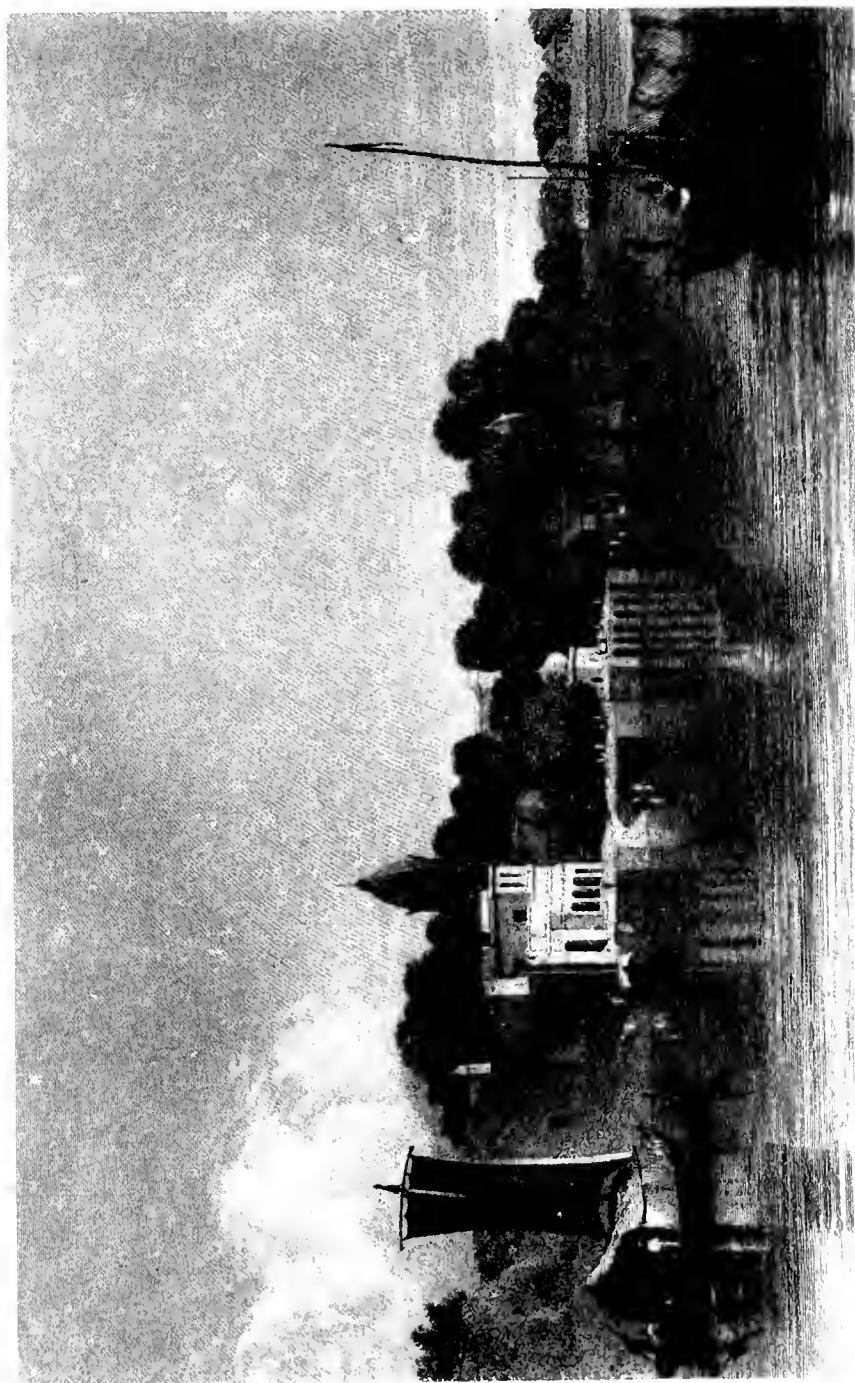


HINDOO TEMPLE - BENARES

In the temple here represented the foundation has been suffered to wear away and several of the towers have fallen into the water



SARNAT, A BOODH MONUMENT NEAR BENARES



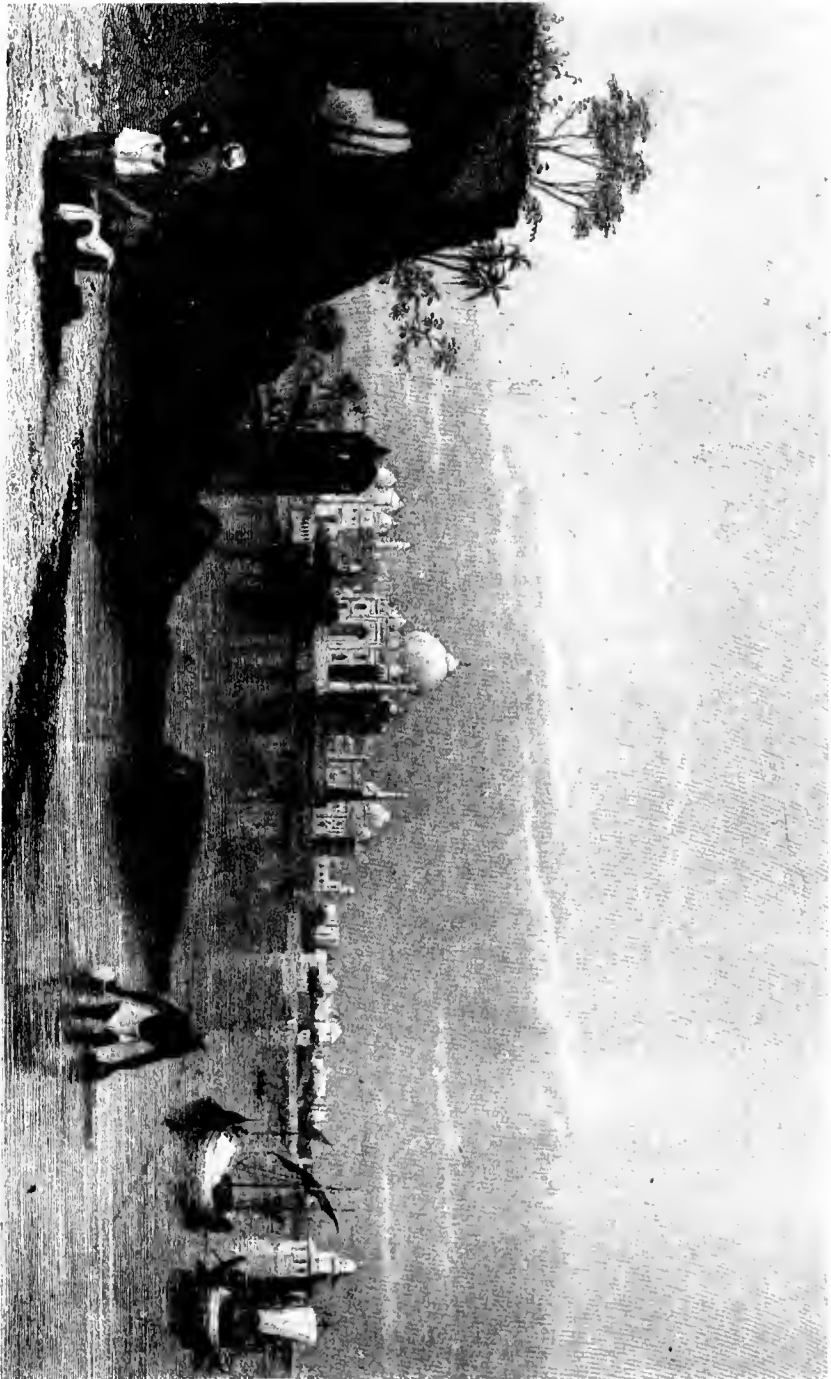
VIEW OF CAWNPORE FROM THE RIVER



AGRA, THE SCENE OF THE LATE DREADFUL MASSACRES

This view shows the superb mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan, at a cost of £ 750,000 it is called the

Tage-Mahal, or crown of edifices, and is built of white marble



TAJ MAHAL,—AGRA



JUMMA MUSJID—MANDOO

Mandoo was the ancient residence of the Dhar rajahs, the Jumma Musjid is the finest and largest specimen of an Afghan Mosque in India

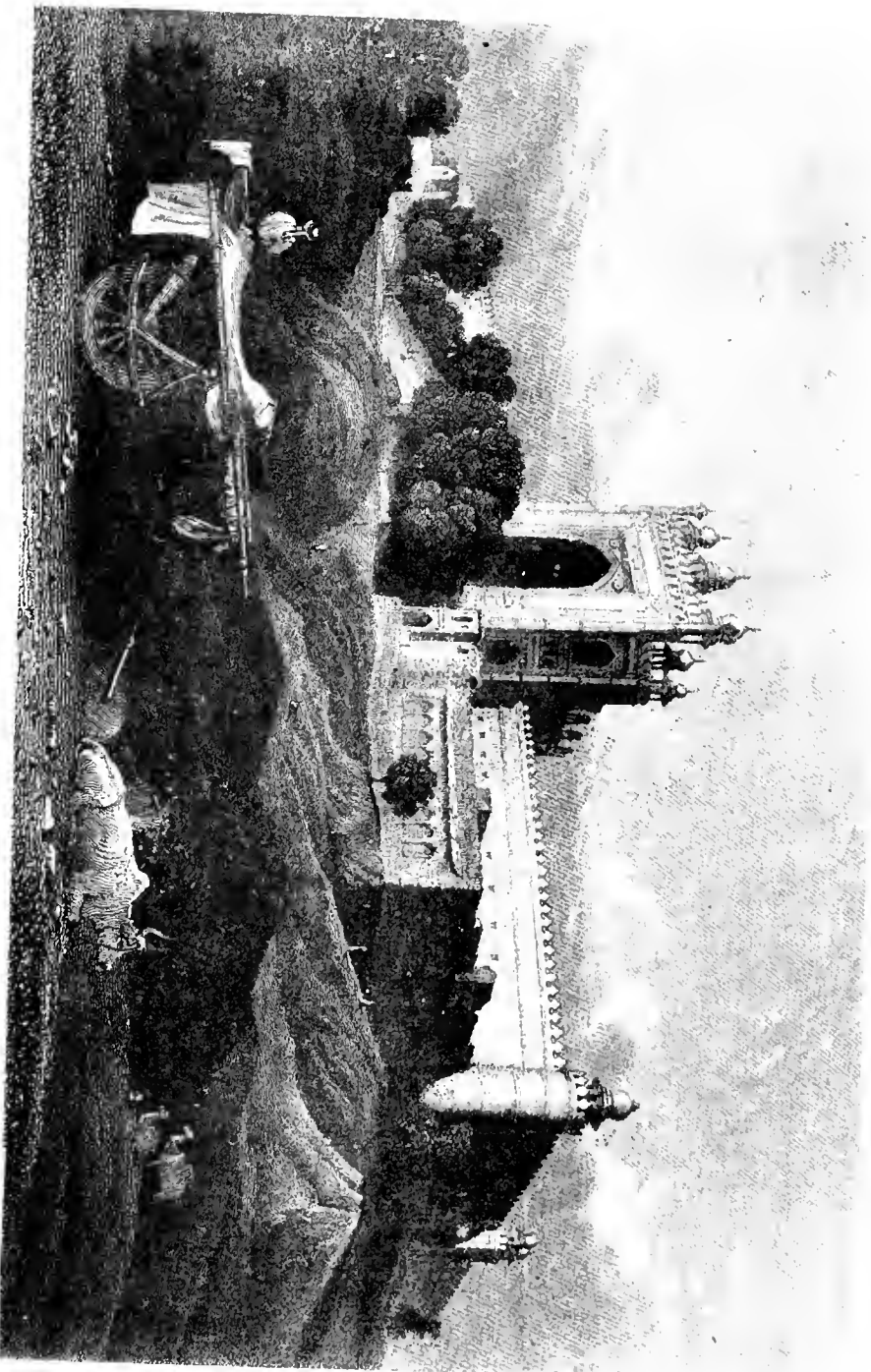


AGRA, FROM THE JAHARA BAUG



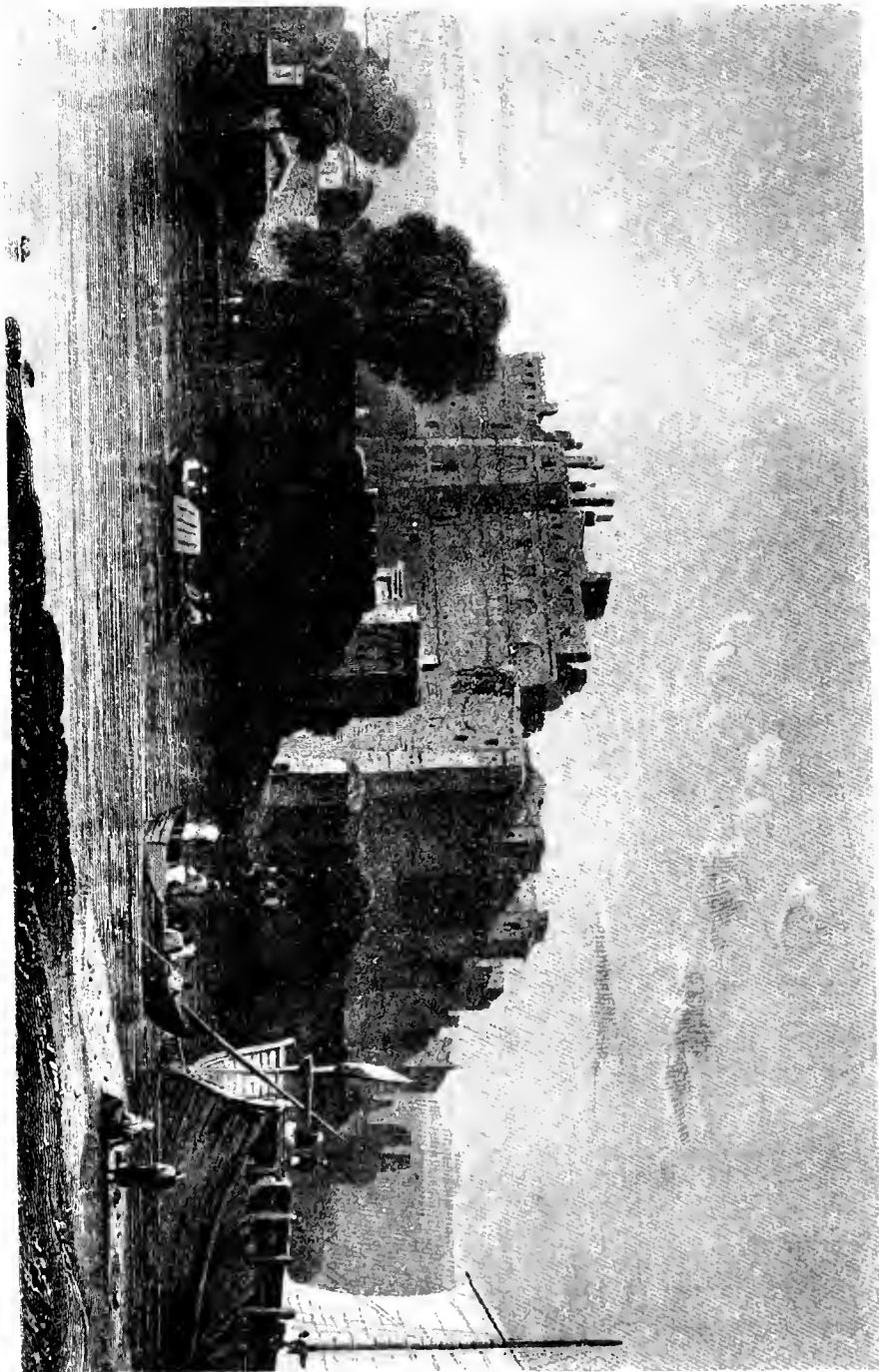
AKBAR'S TOMB—SECUNDRA

Secundra is a village about seven miles from Agra, and at one time was included in the bounds of that city

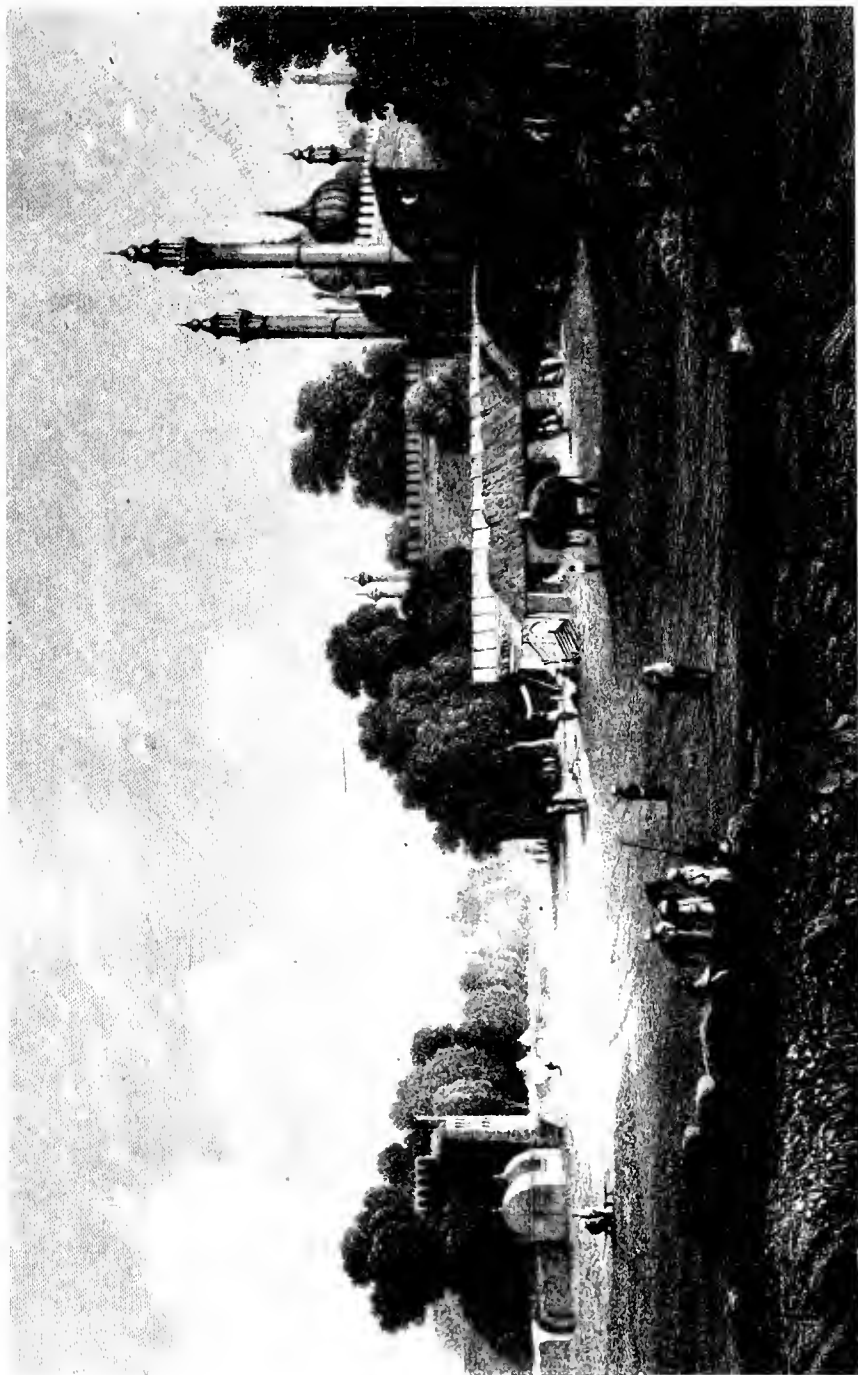


FUTTYPORE SICRI

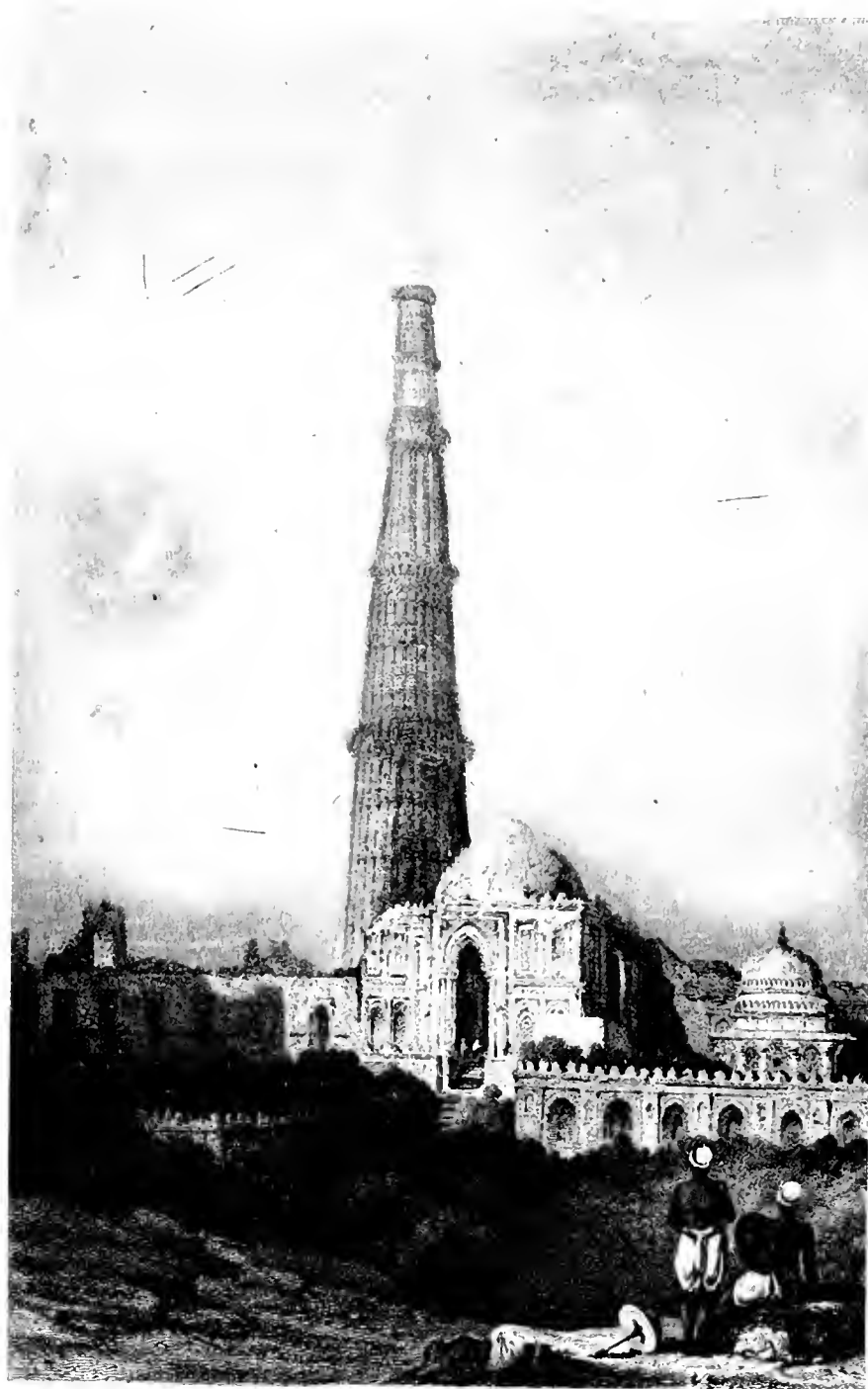
This place is situated about 20 miles from Agra, and was the favorite palace of the Mogul Emperors. The gateway represented in the plate, is considered the most beautiful of its kind in any part of the world—
Here a body of the Sepoy Mutineers were defeated by Colonel Cotton on the 28th October 1857



AN OLD FORT AT MUTTRA

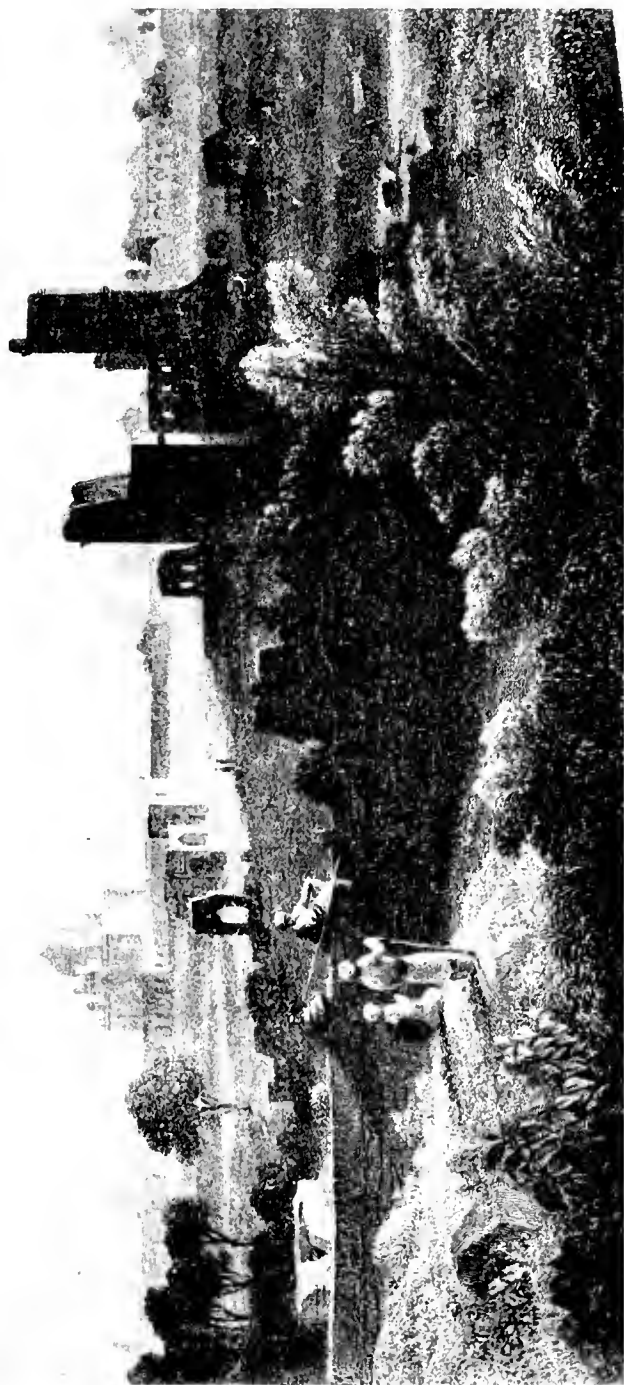


DELHI—SHEWING THE ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE



COOTUB MINAR: DELHI

Erected Between A.D. 1210 And 1231



TOMB OF HUMAIOON—DELHI



A RUIN ON THE BANKS OF THE JUMNA, ABOVE THE CITY OF DELHI



RUINS—OLD DELHI

Old Delhi at one time covered a space of twenty square miles the ruins are strewn over a plain of nearly equal extent



RUINS SOUTH SIDE OF OLD DELHI



VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE NO 1



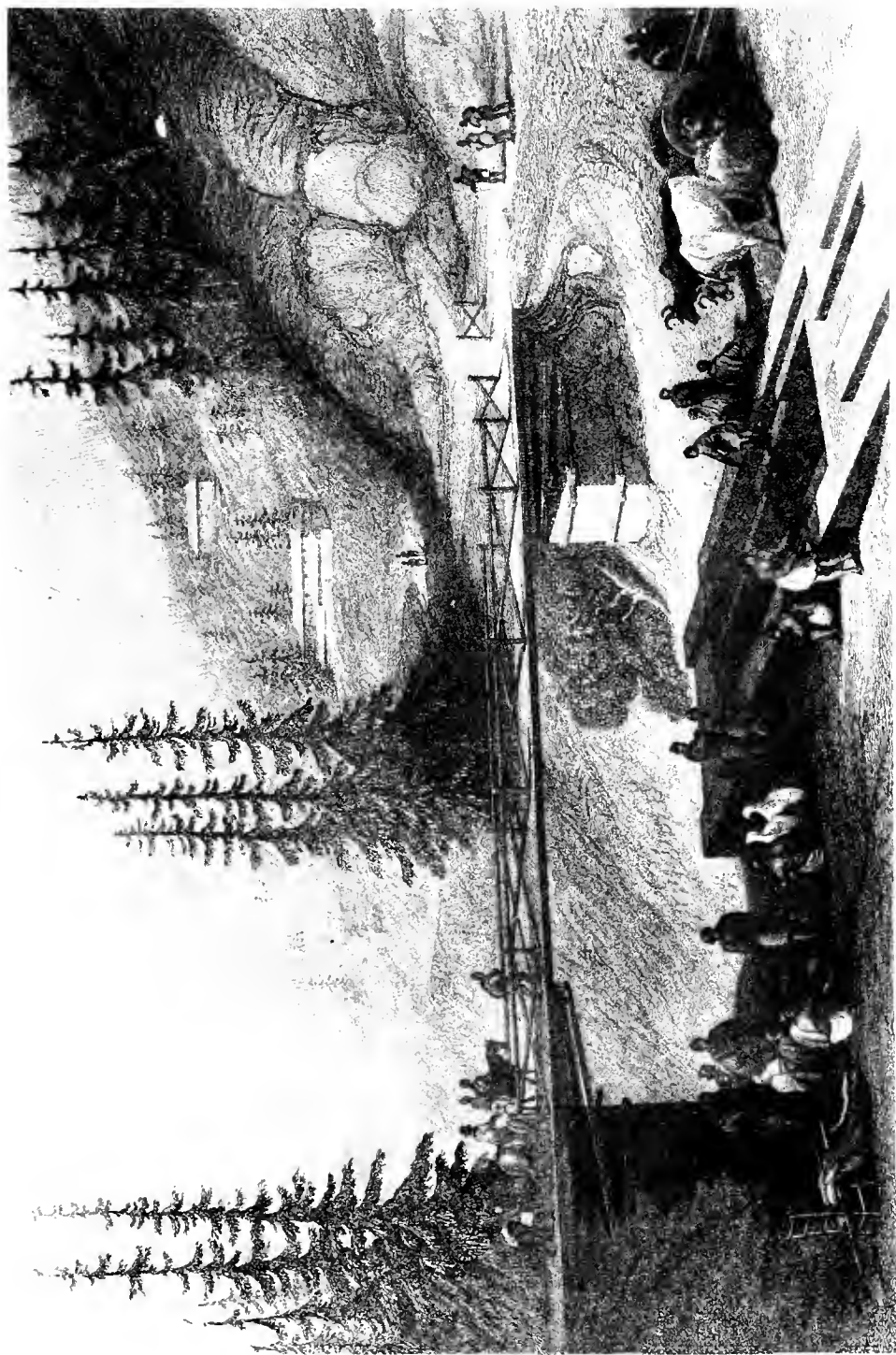
VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE NO 2



FORT GEORGE, MADRAS



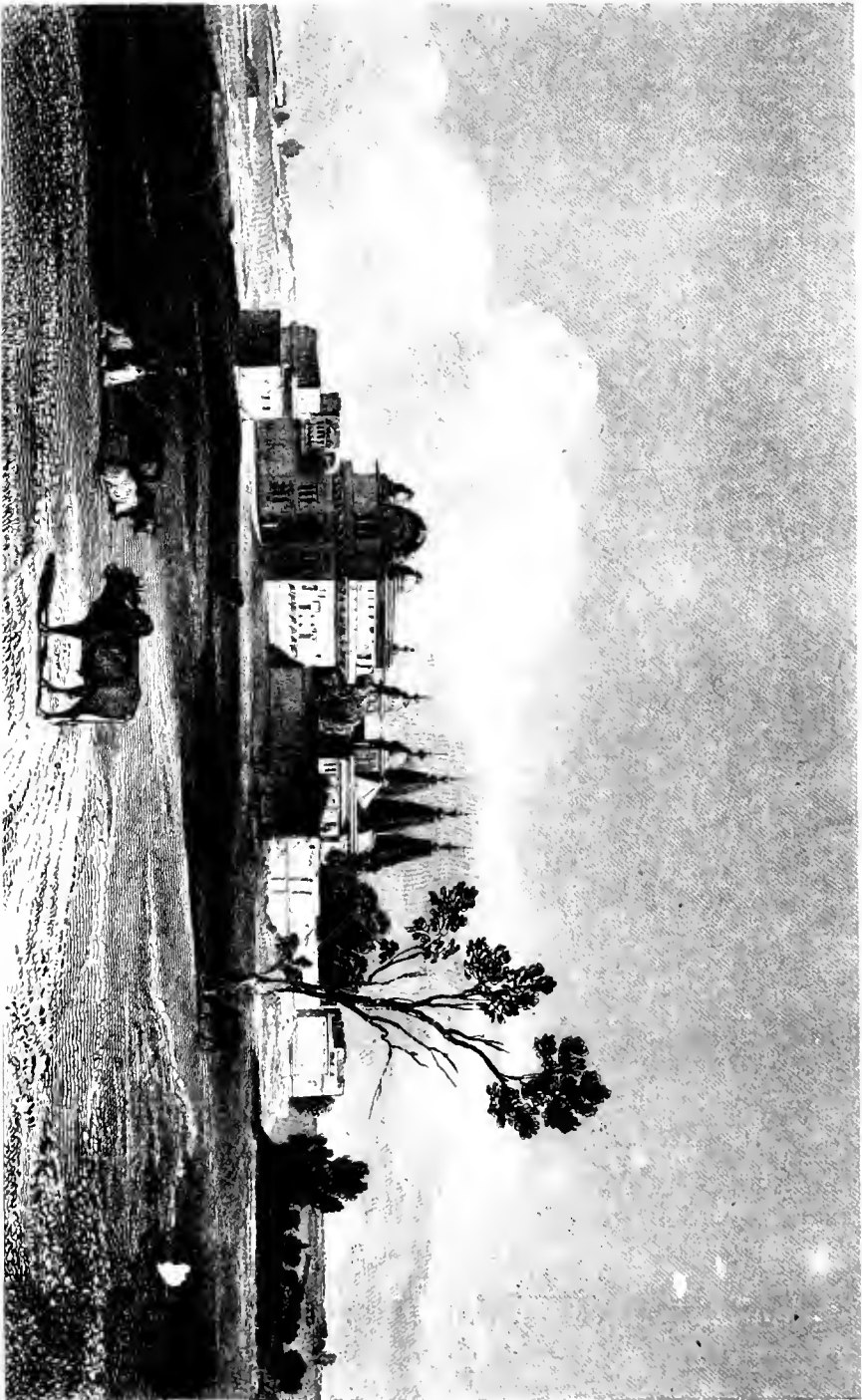
BOMBAY HARBOUR IN THE MONSOON



SIMLA, NEAR BELASPOOR
A favorite resort for Invalids of the British Army



FORTRESS OF SHUHUR, JEYPORE, RAJPOOTANA



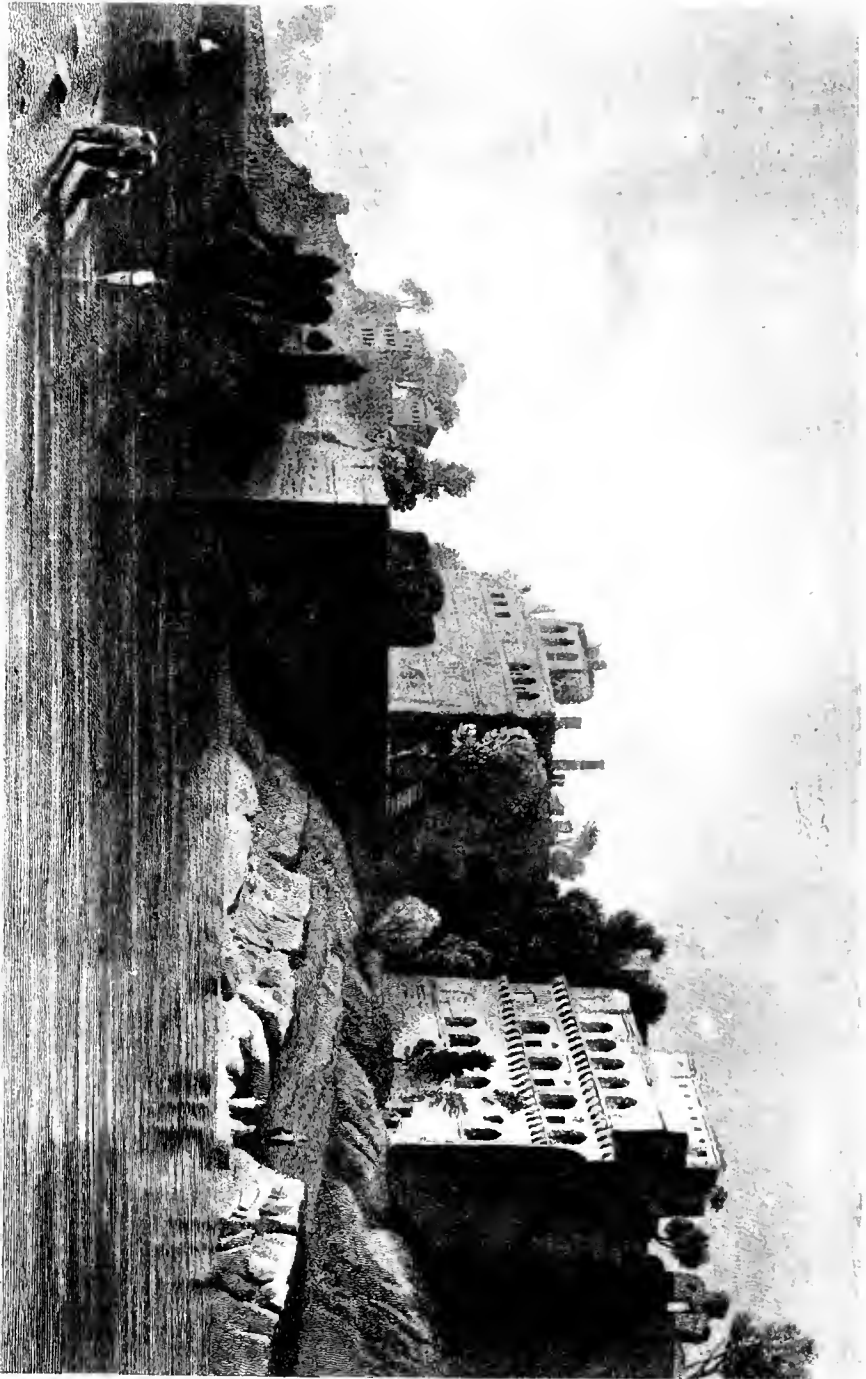
HINDOO TEMPLE AT CHANDANGOAN

In the route from Agva to Kōta



PERAWA, MALWA

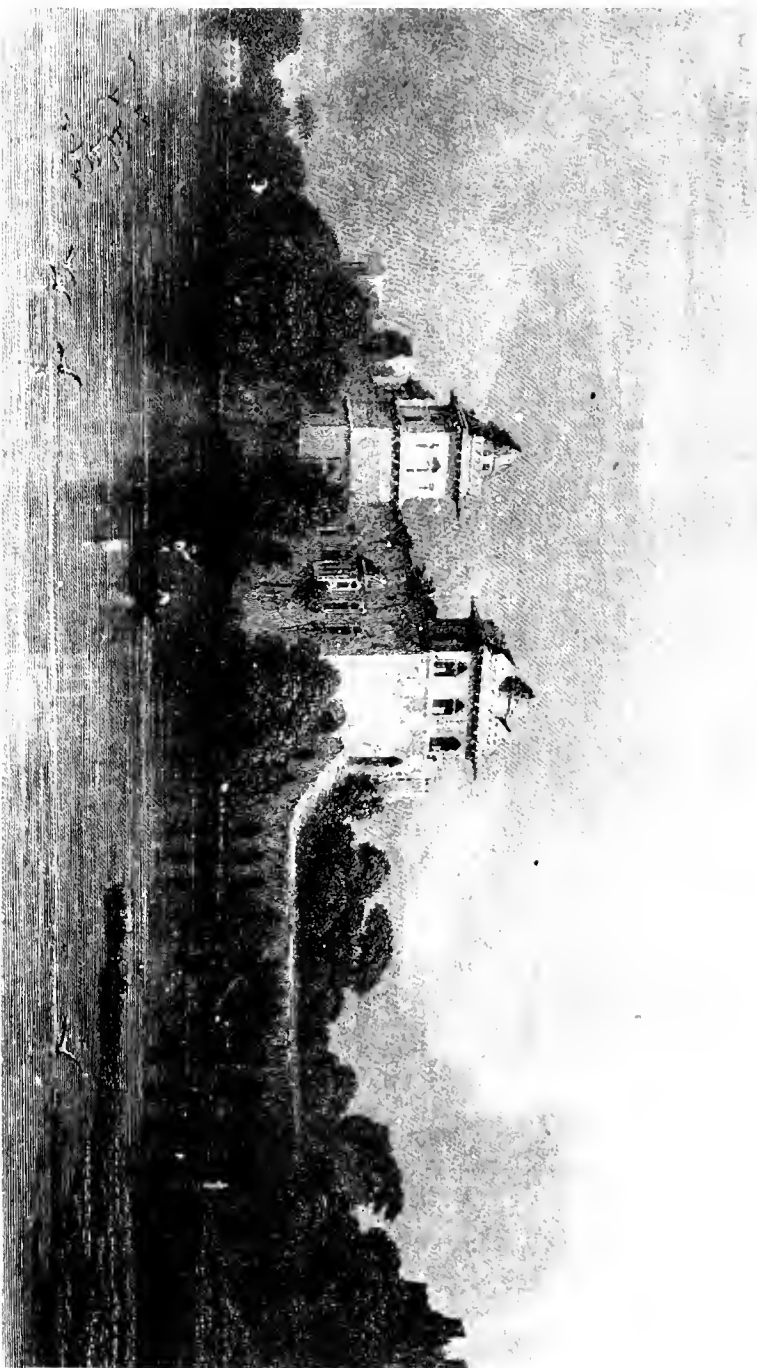
The province of Malwa was the scene of many of the most fearful outrages during the mutiny. It was in this province the defection of the Gwalior contingent occurred, also the revolt and murder at Mhow



KING'S FORT,—BOORHANPORE



JUMMA MUSJID — AGRA

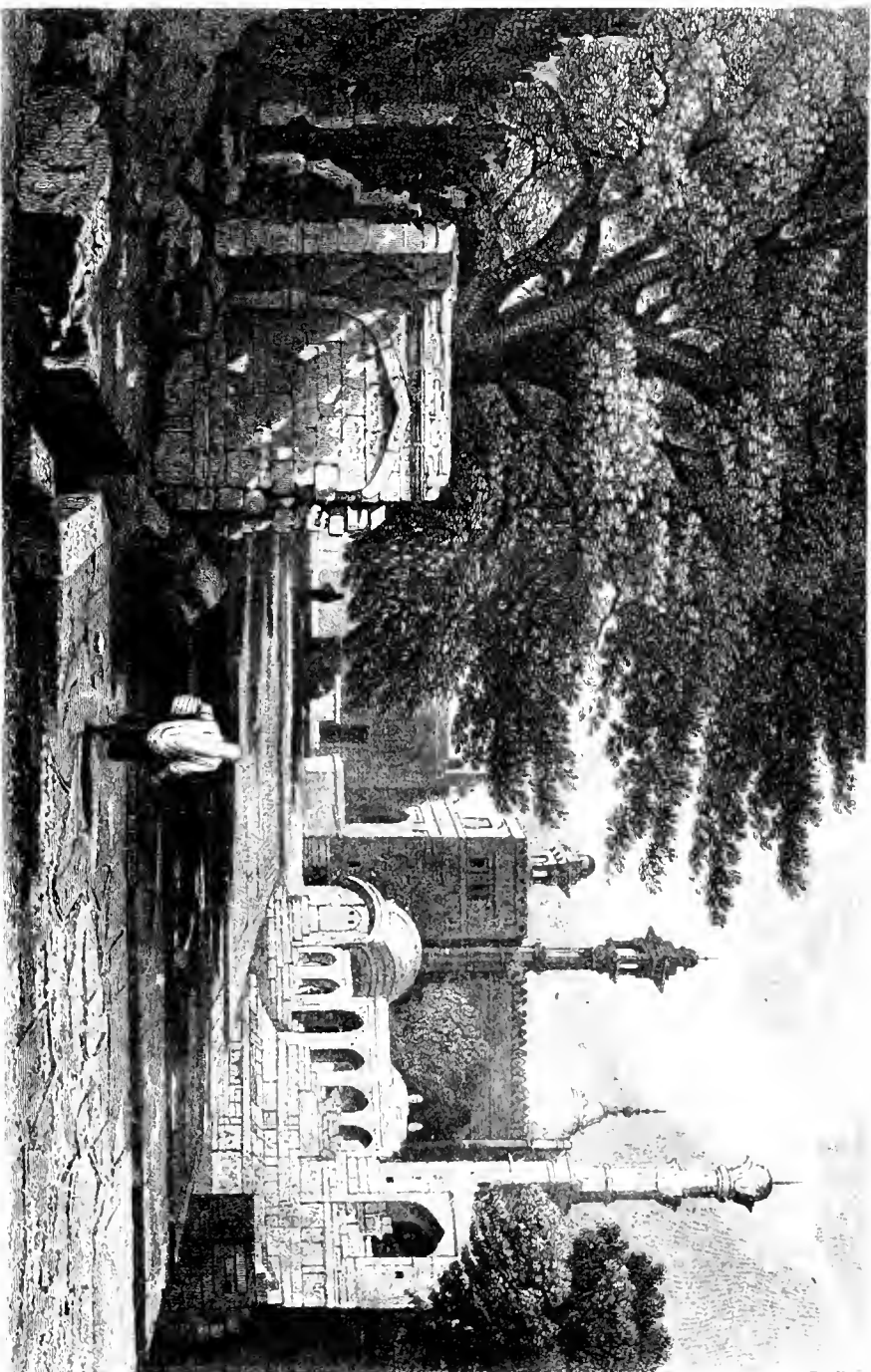


THE WATER PALACE—MANDOO



THE FORTRESS OF DOWLATABAD IN THE DECCAN

This was one of the strongest and most important of the native fortresses in India



AURUNGZEB'S TOMB, ROZAH



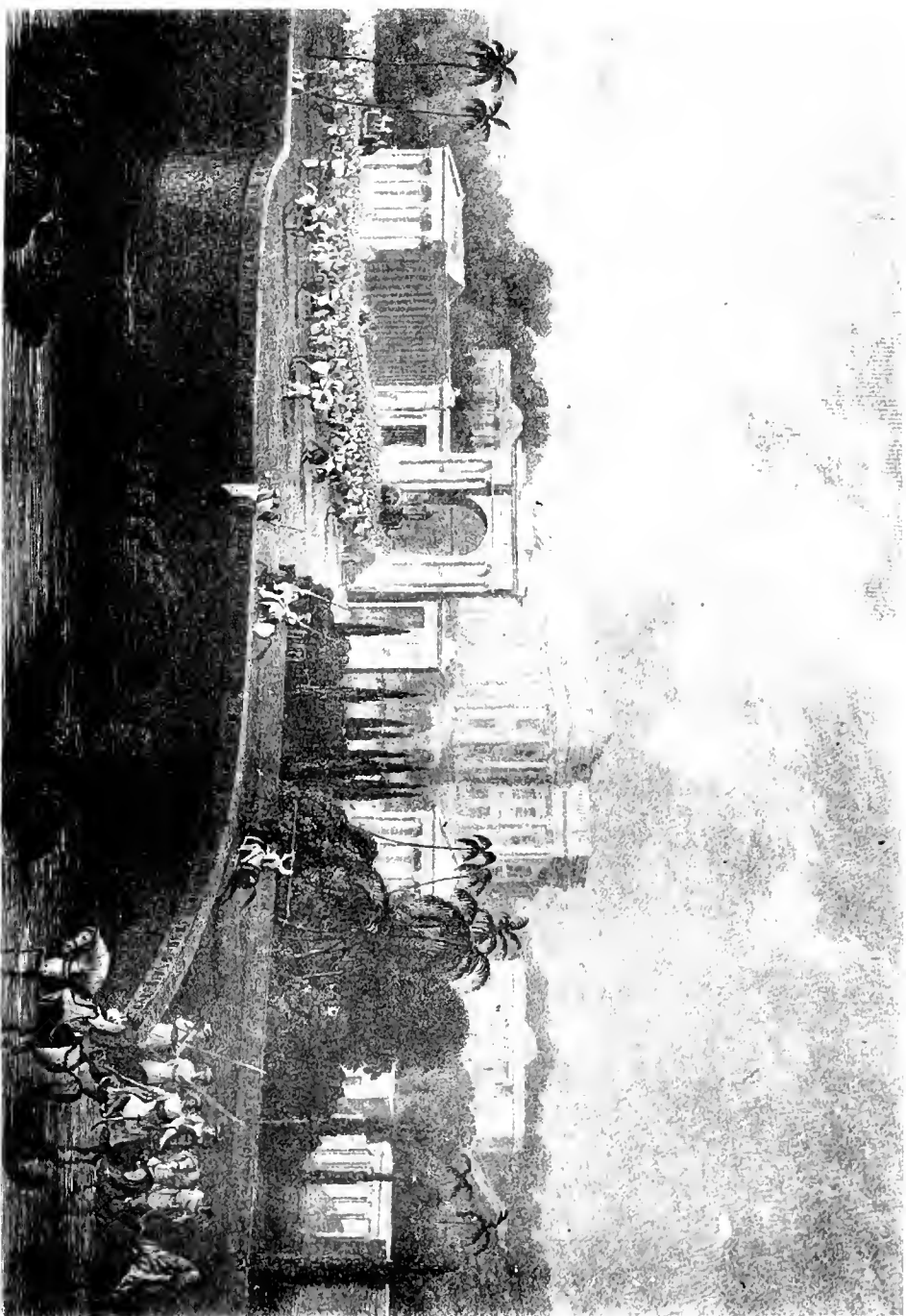
VIEW OF SASSOOR, IN THE DECCAN, SOUTH EAST OF POONAH

The walled building to the right is a fortified palace, and in 1818 its garrison held out for ten days against a division of the British Army



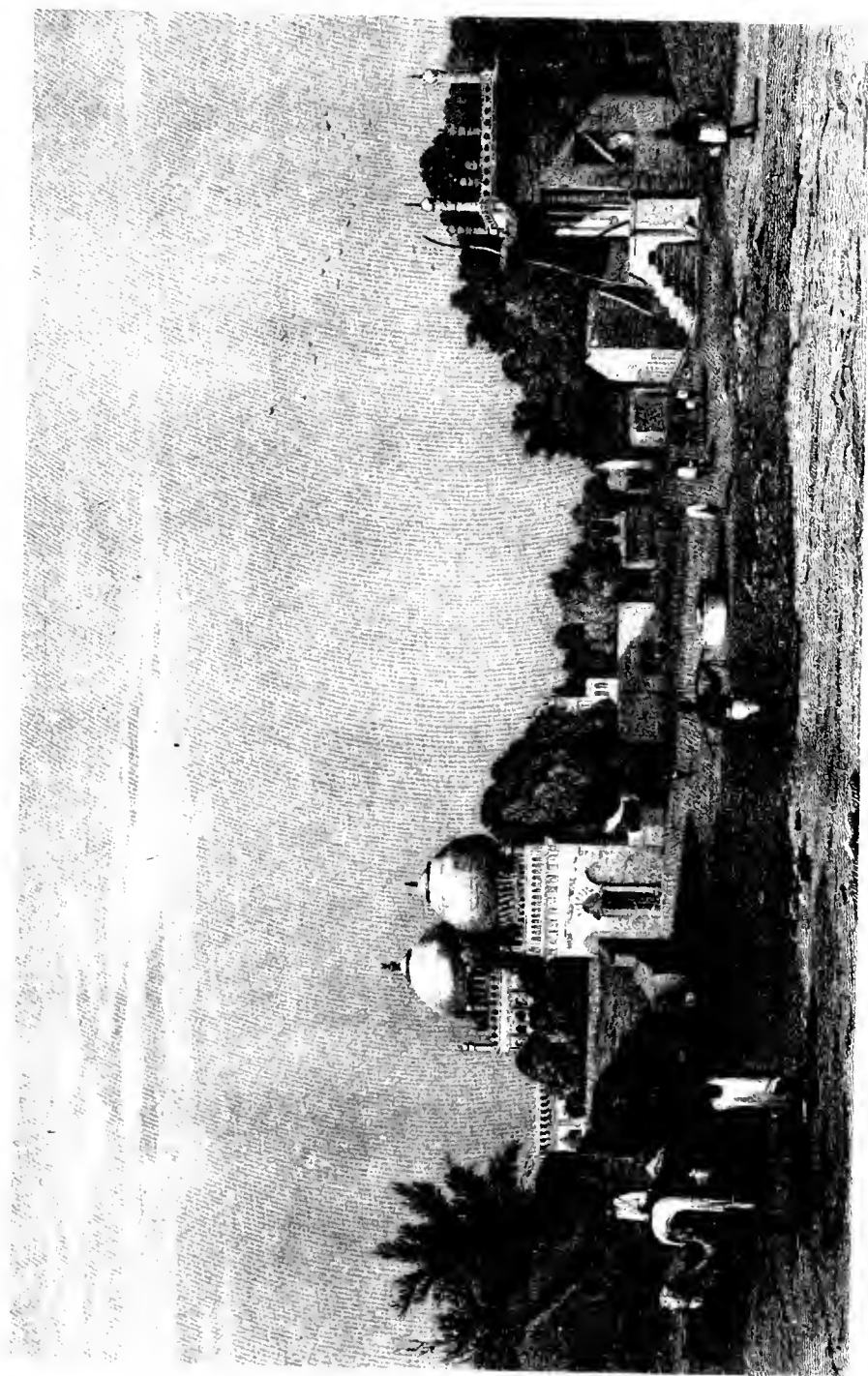
TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA

Golconda is a fortified town, 3 miles west of Hyderabad, celebrated as a depot for diamonds. A large amount of treasure is kept here by the Nizam of the Deccan; Europeans and native strangers, are not usually allowed to enter the gates



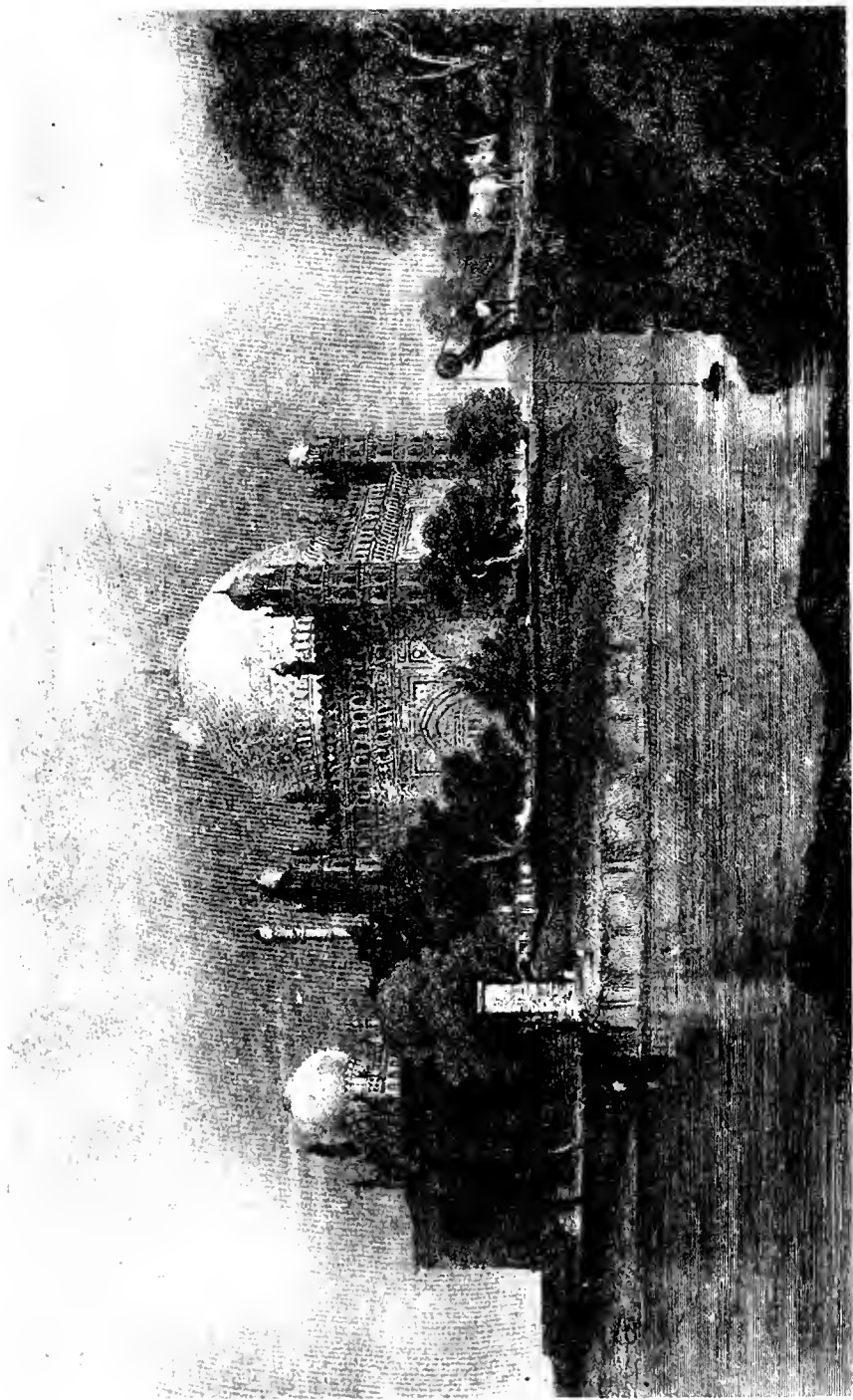
THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT HYDERABAD

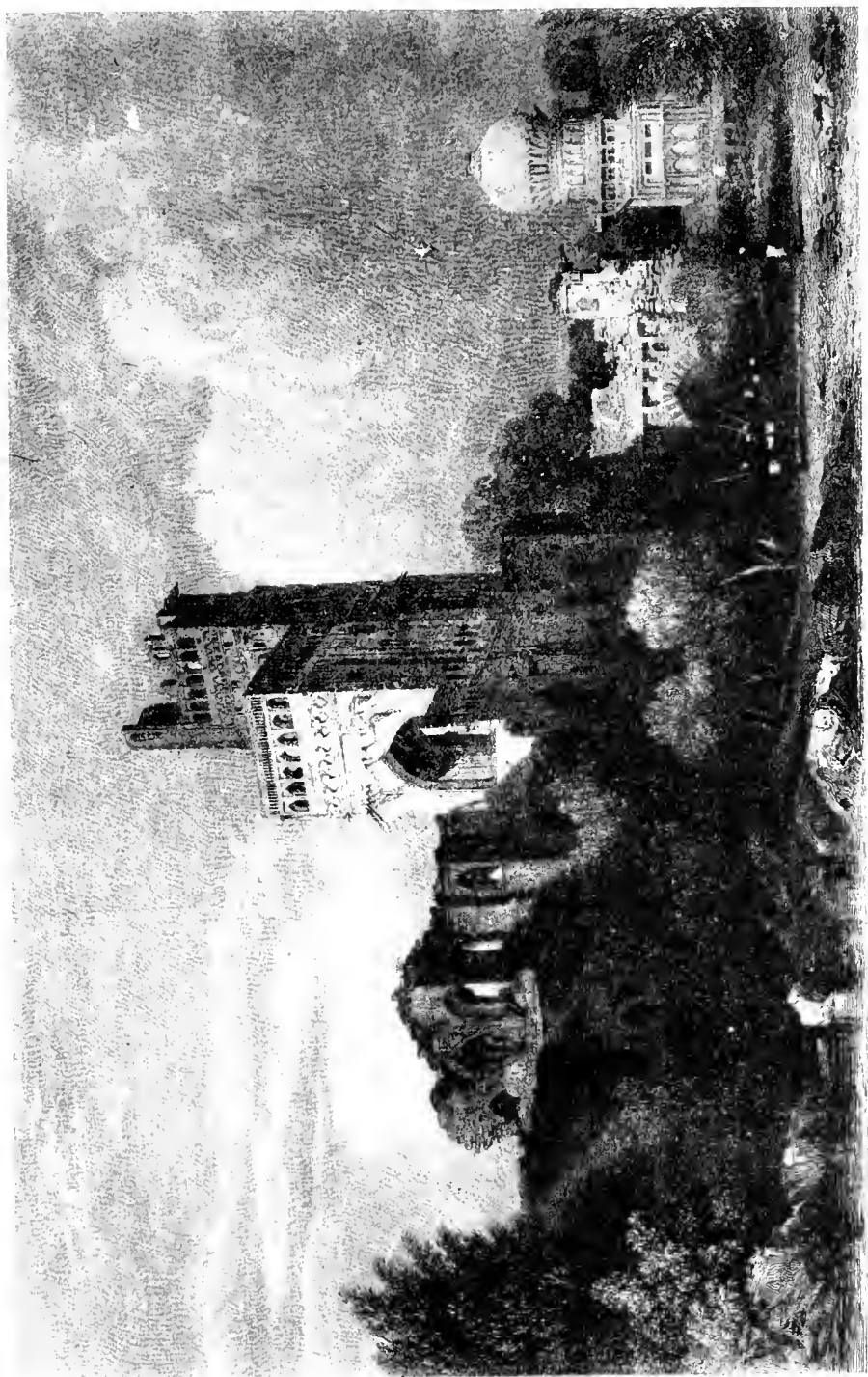
The Nizam of the Deccan paying a State Visit to the English Resident to assure him of his adhesion to British interests



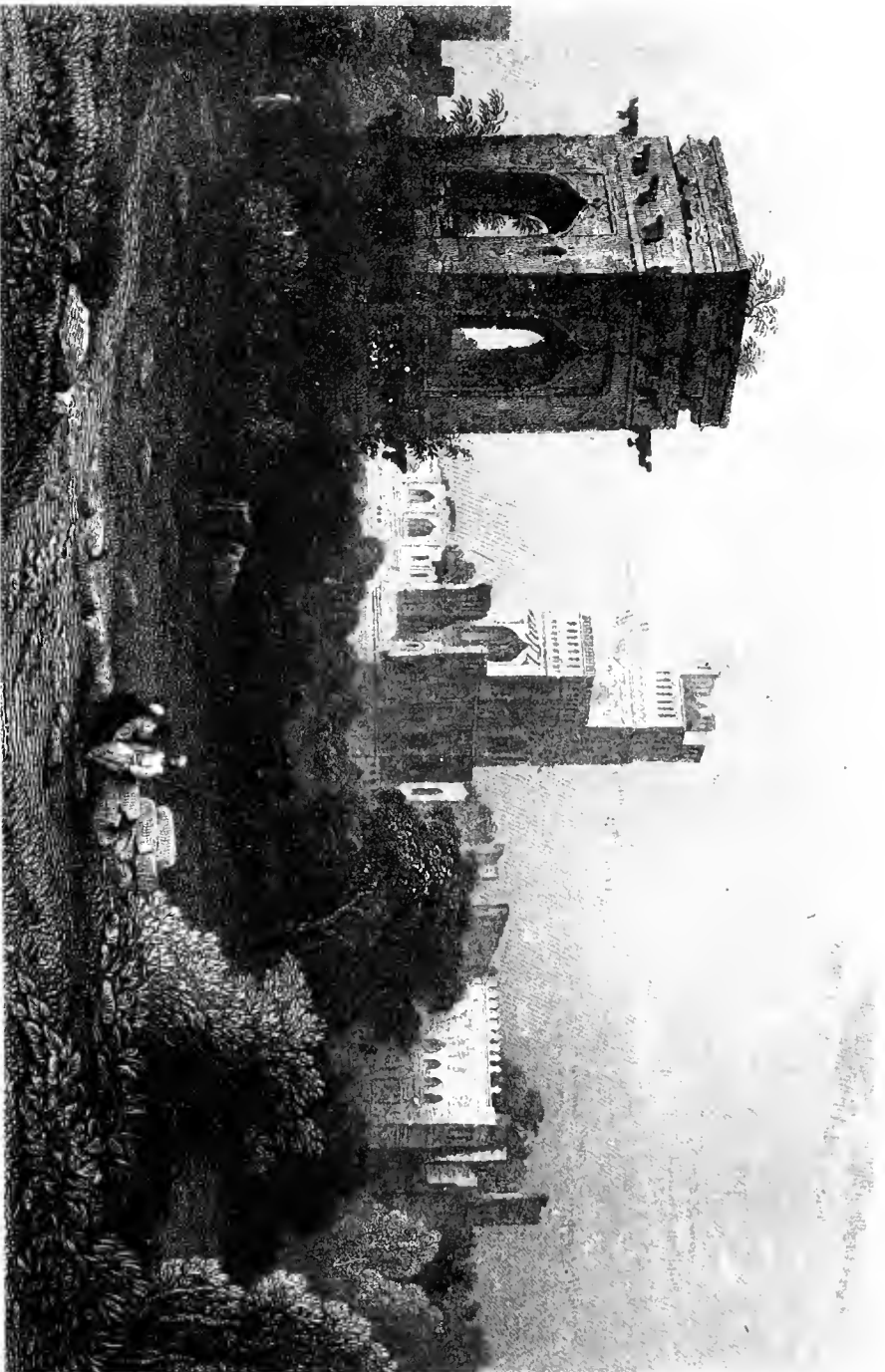
BEJAPORE

SULTAN MAHOMED SHAH'S TOMB, BEJAPORE

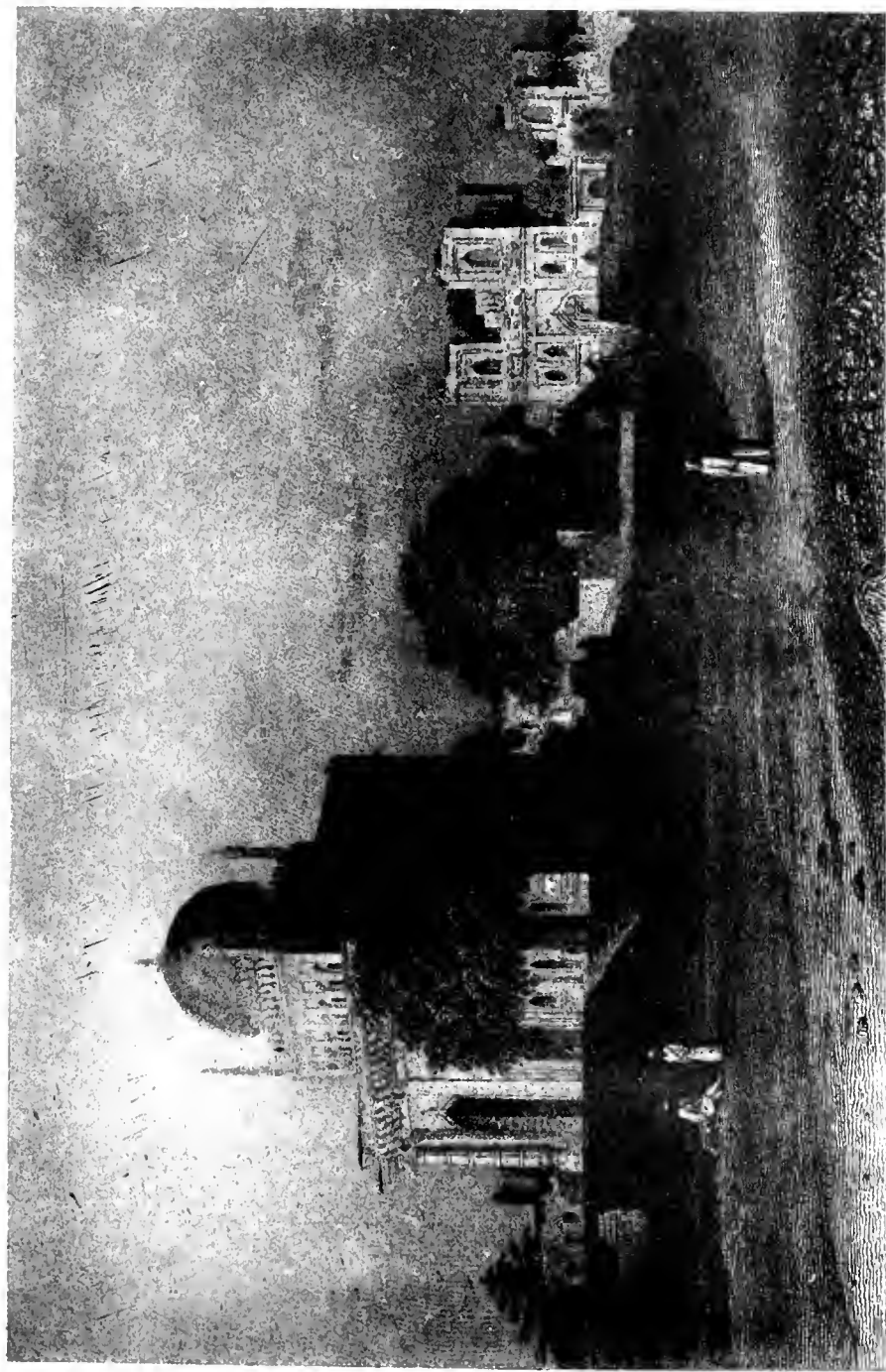




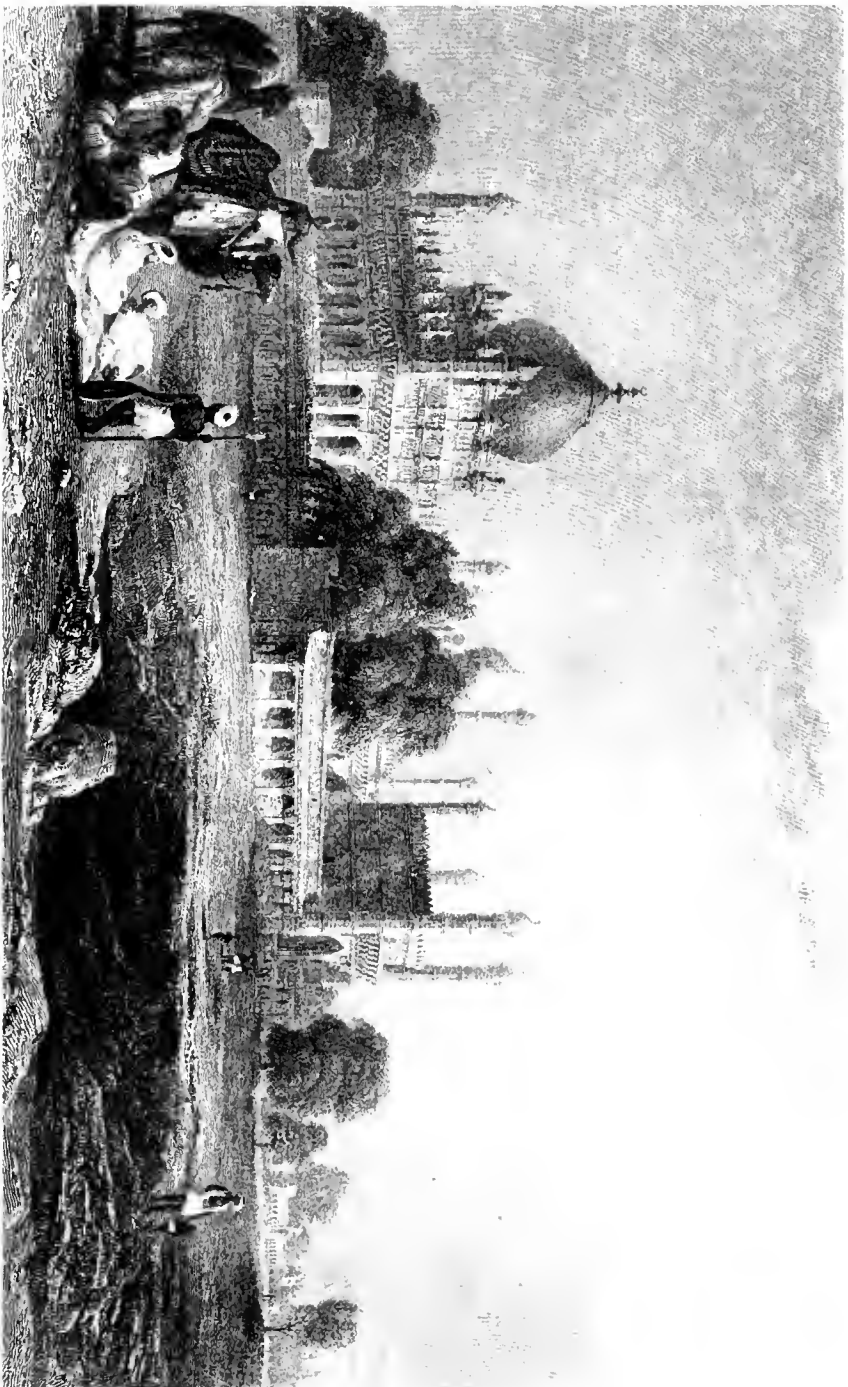
SEVEN—STORIED PALACE, BEJAPORE



PALACE OF THE SEVEN STORIES, — BEJAPORE



MOSQUE OF MUSTAPHA KHAN, — BEJAFORE



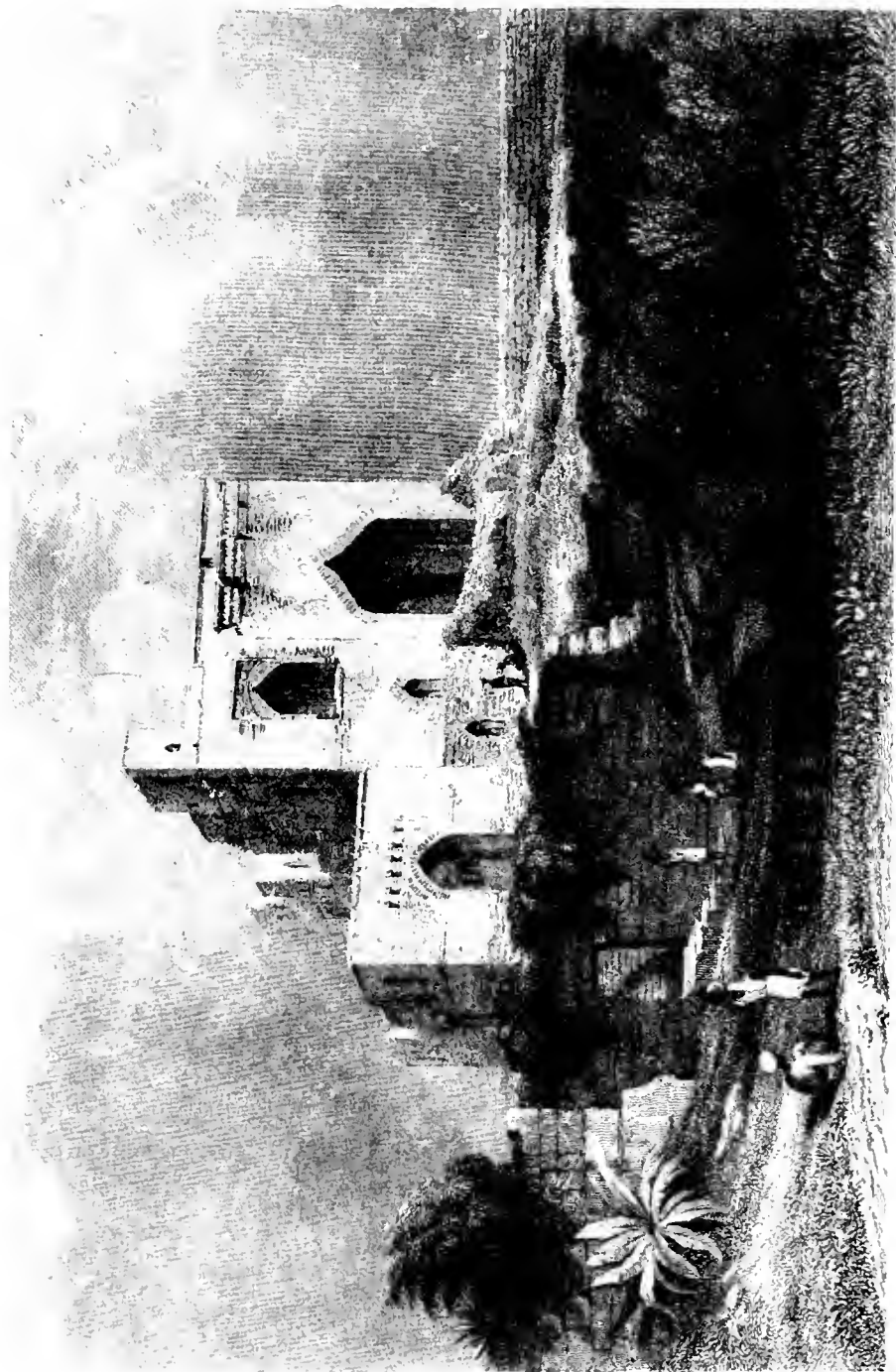
TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH,—BEJAPORE



Taj Bowlee,—Bejapore



ASSAR MAHAL,—BEJAPORE



SINGHAM MAHAL, TORWAY,--BEJAPORE

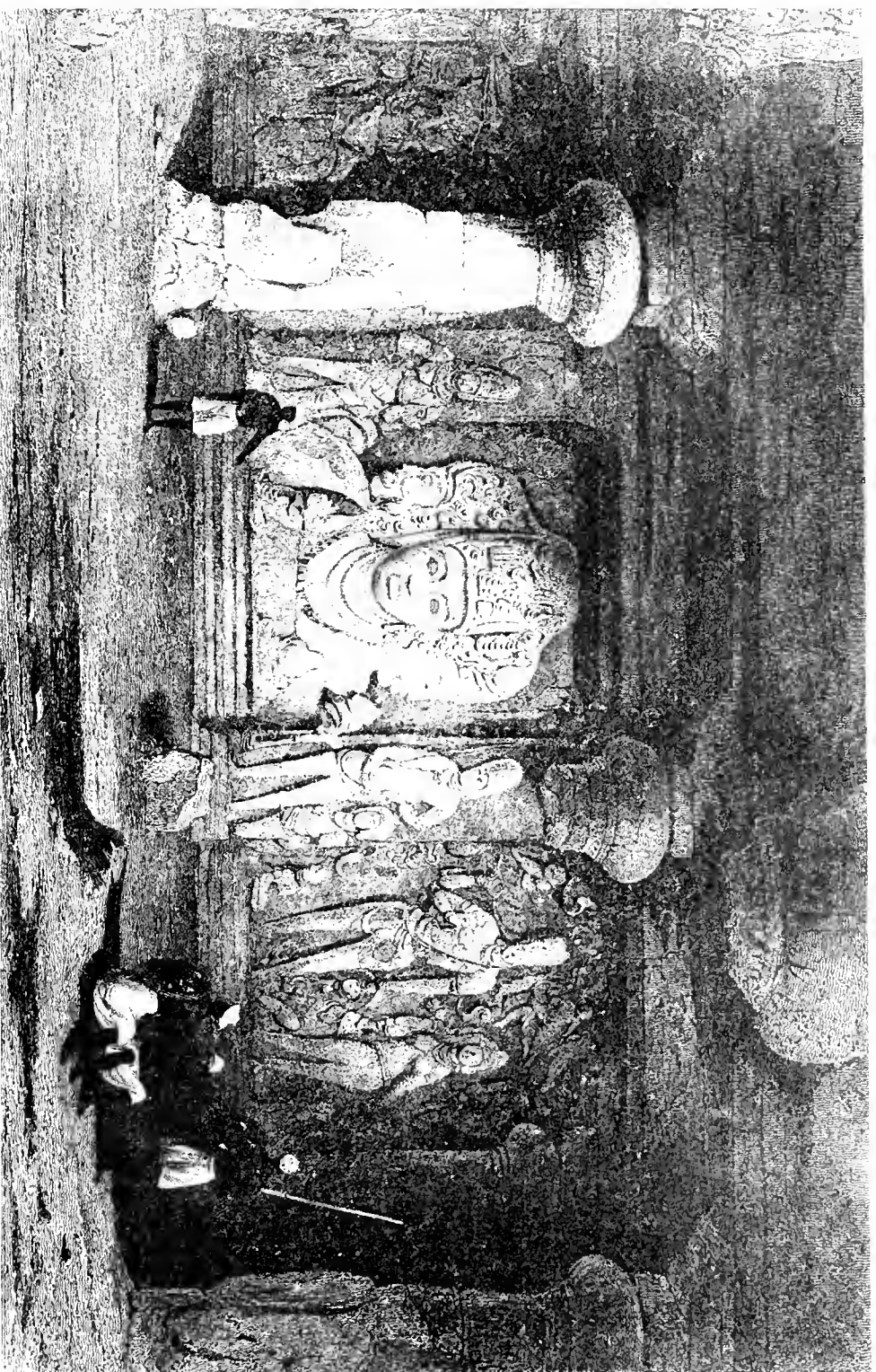


THE CELEBRATED HINDOO TEMPLES AND PALACE AT MADURA

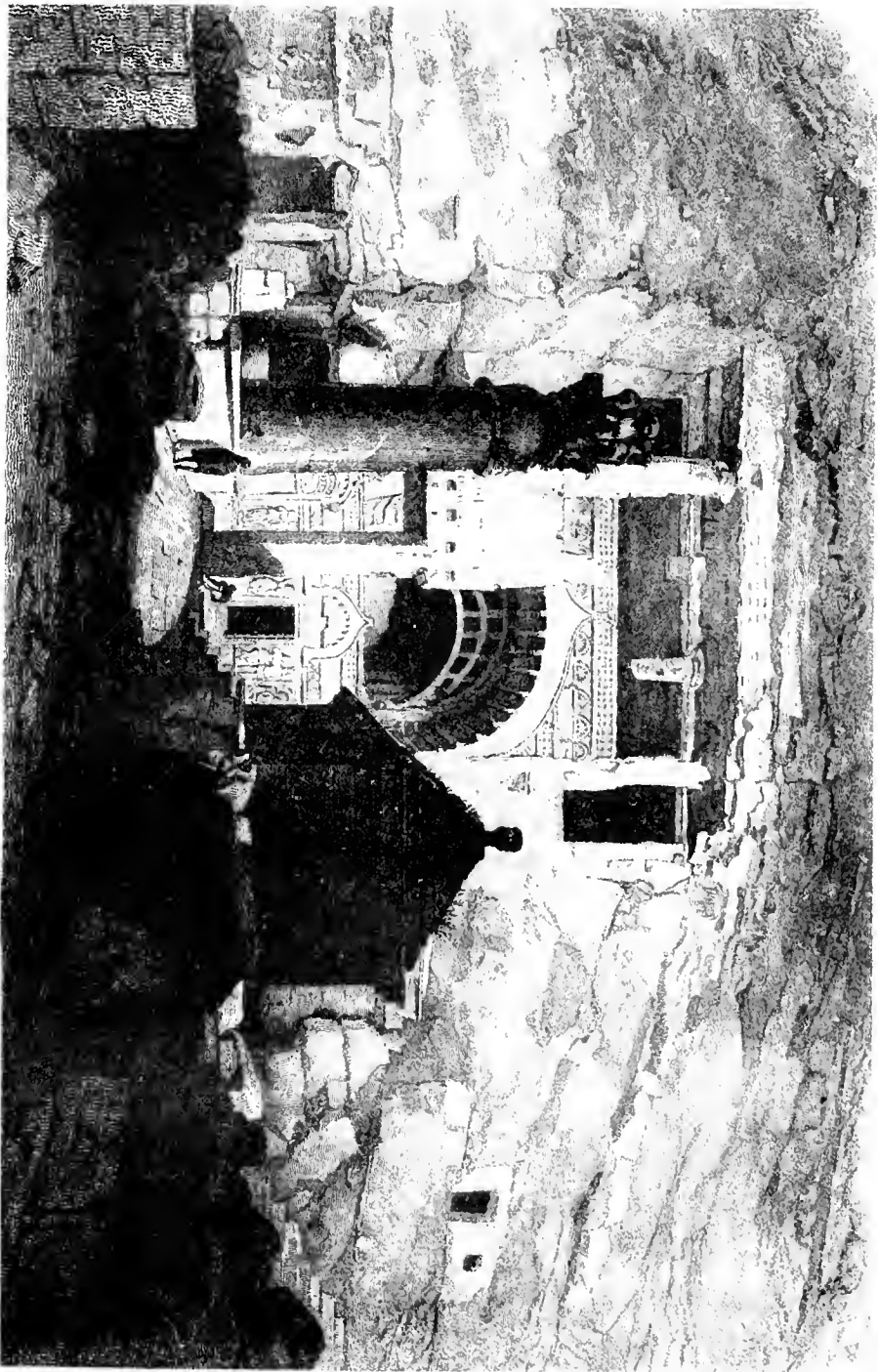
In the Southern Carnatic



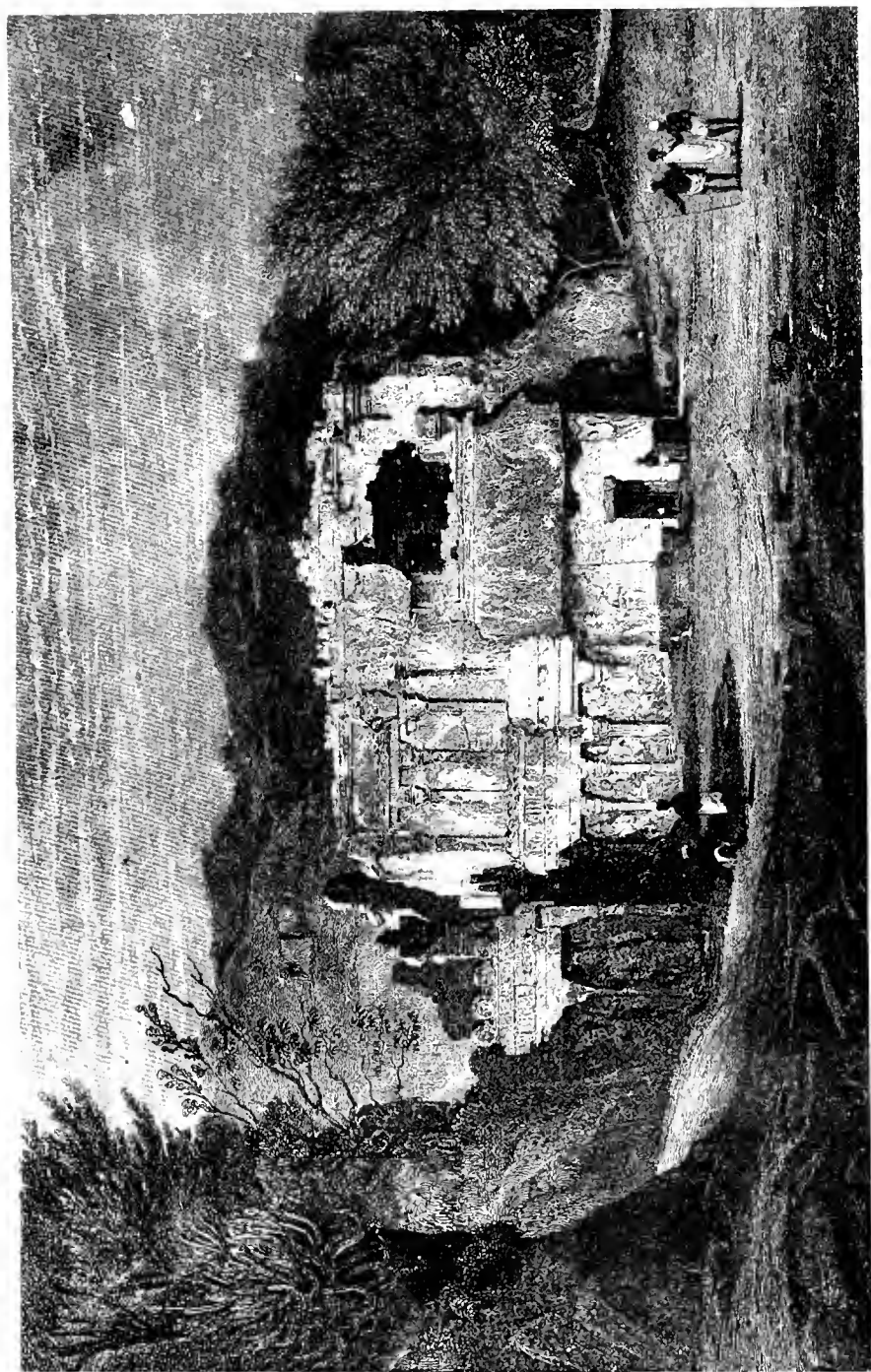
ENTRANCE TO THE CAVE OF ELEPHANTA



TRIAD FIGURE, INTERIOR OF ELEPHANTA



THE CAVE OF KARLI



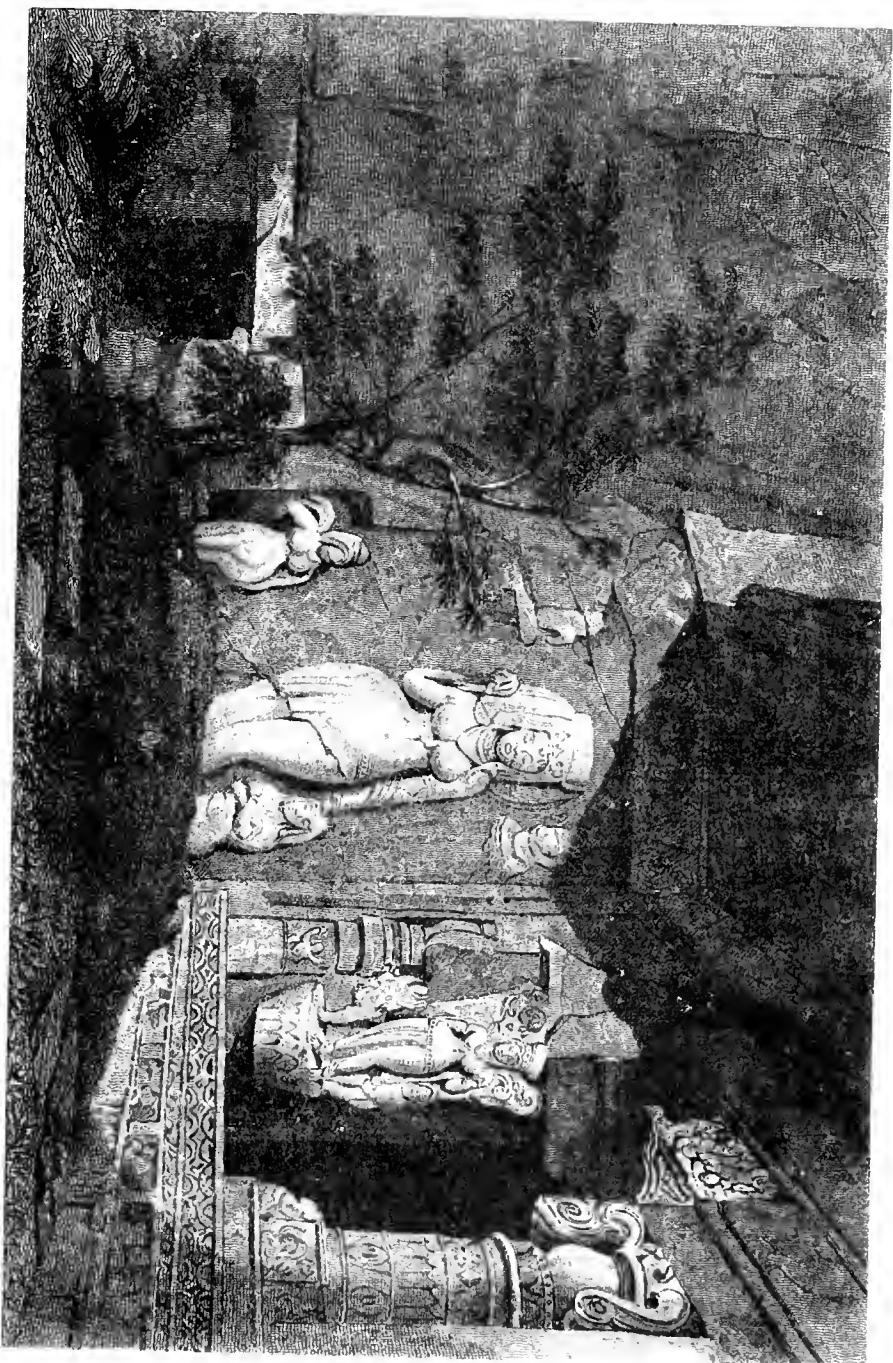
FRONT VIEW OF THE KYLAS, CAVES OF ELLORA



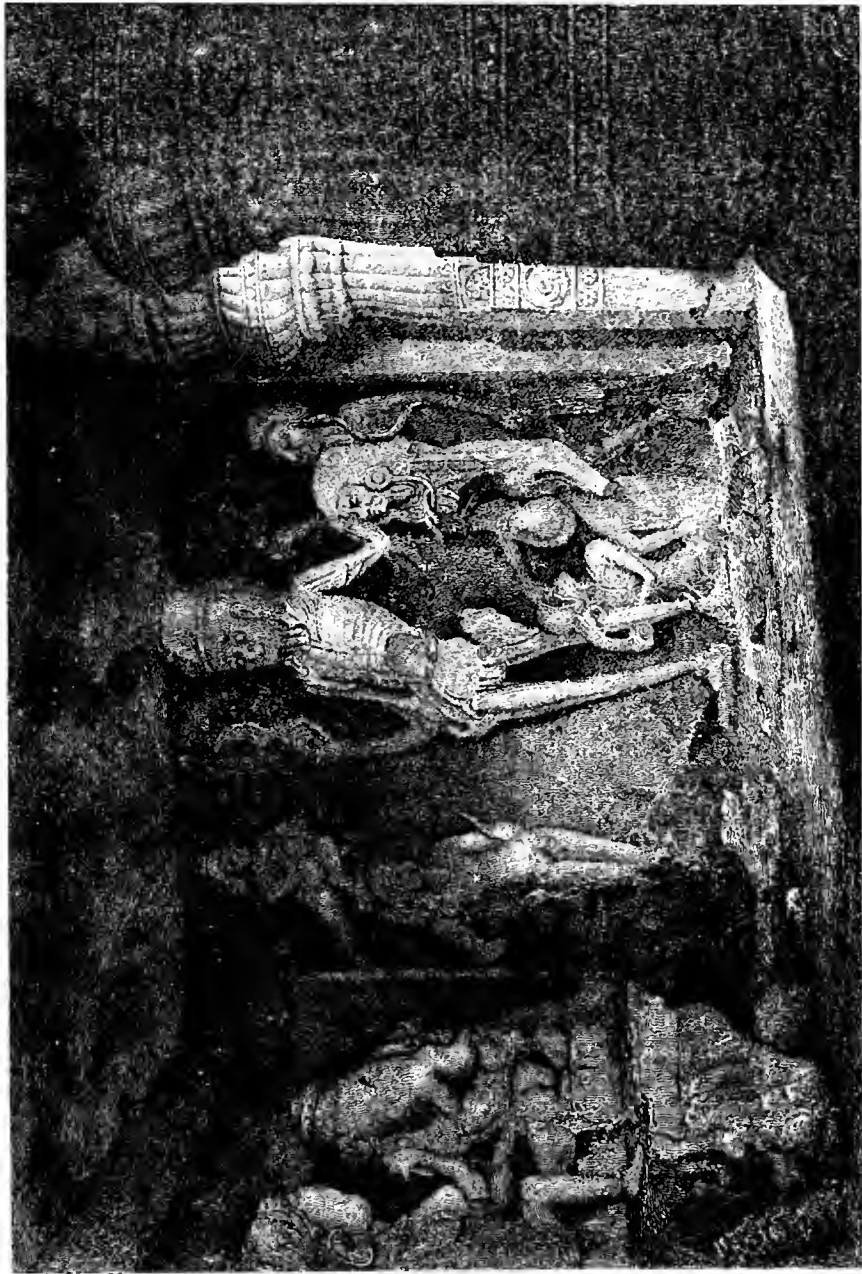
EXCAVATED TEMPLE OF KYLAS,—CAVES OF ELLORA



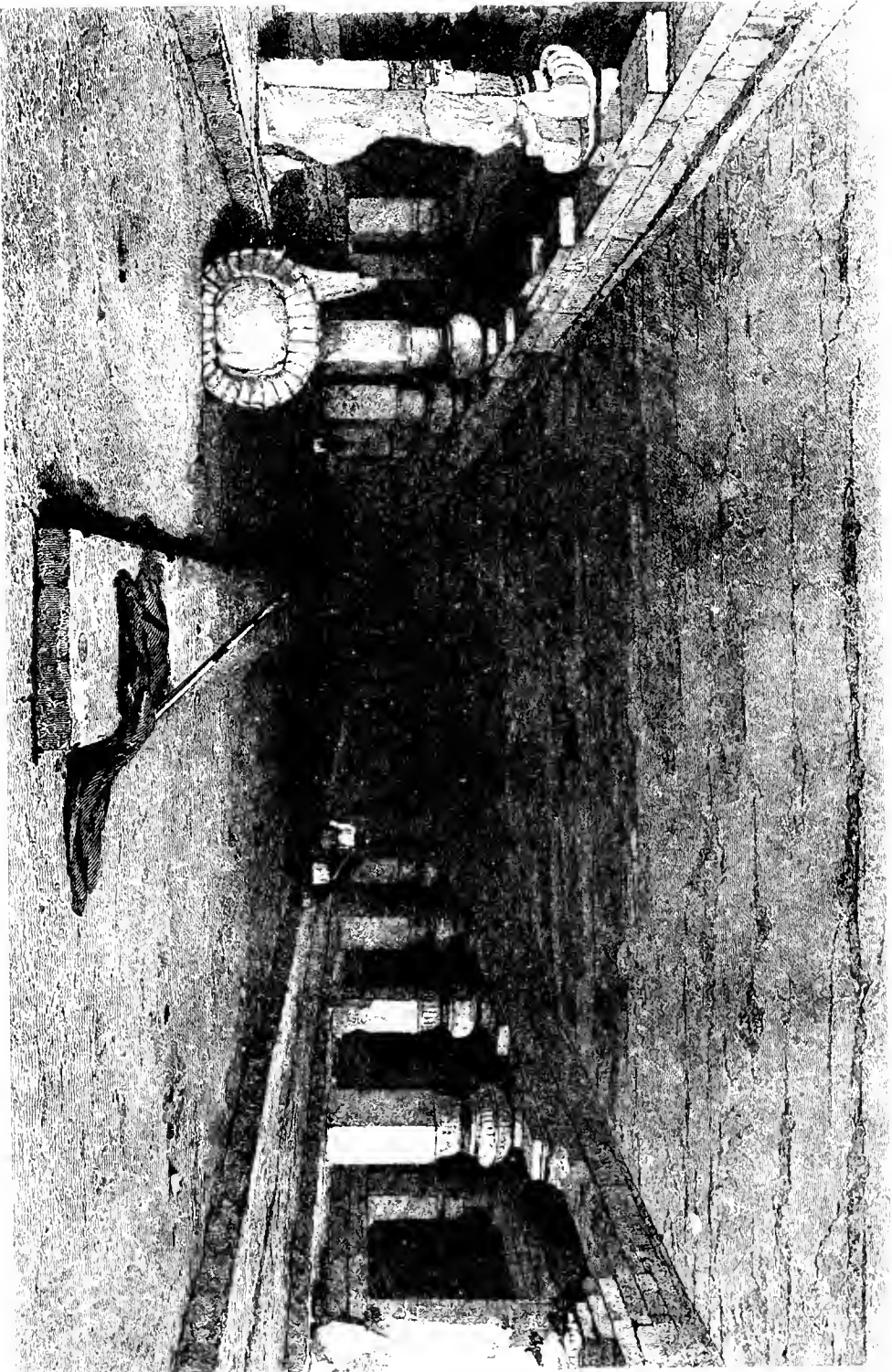
DUS AWTAH, CAVES OF ELLORA



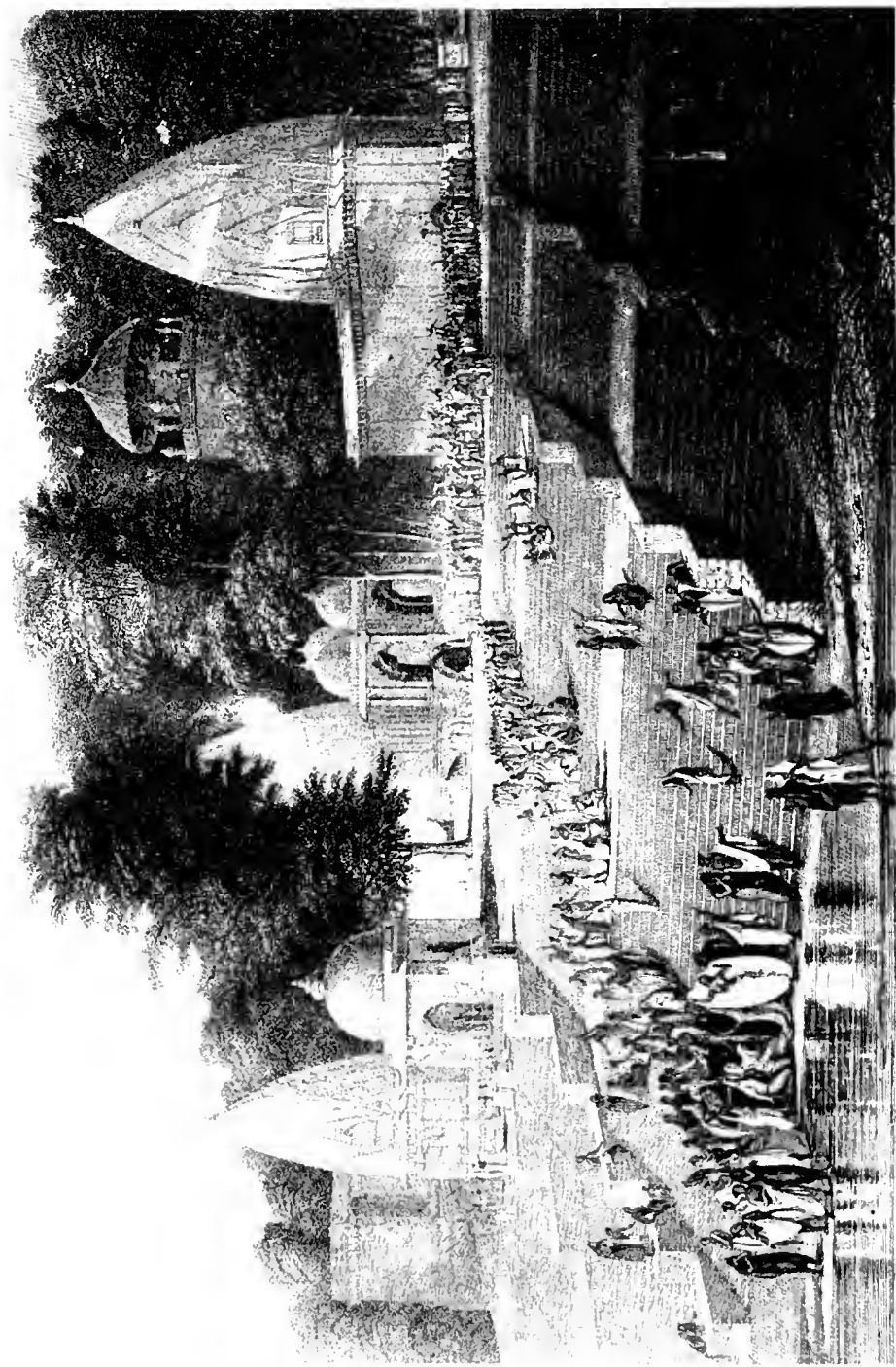
RAMESWUR,--CAVES OF ELLORA



SKELETON GROUP IN THE RAMESWUR, CAVES OF ELLORA

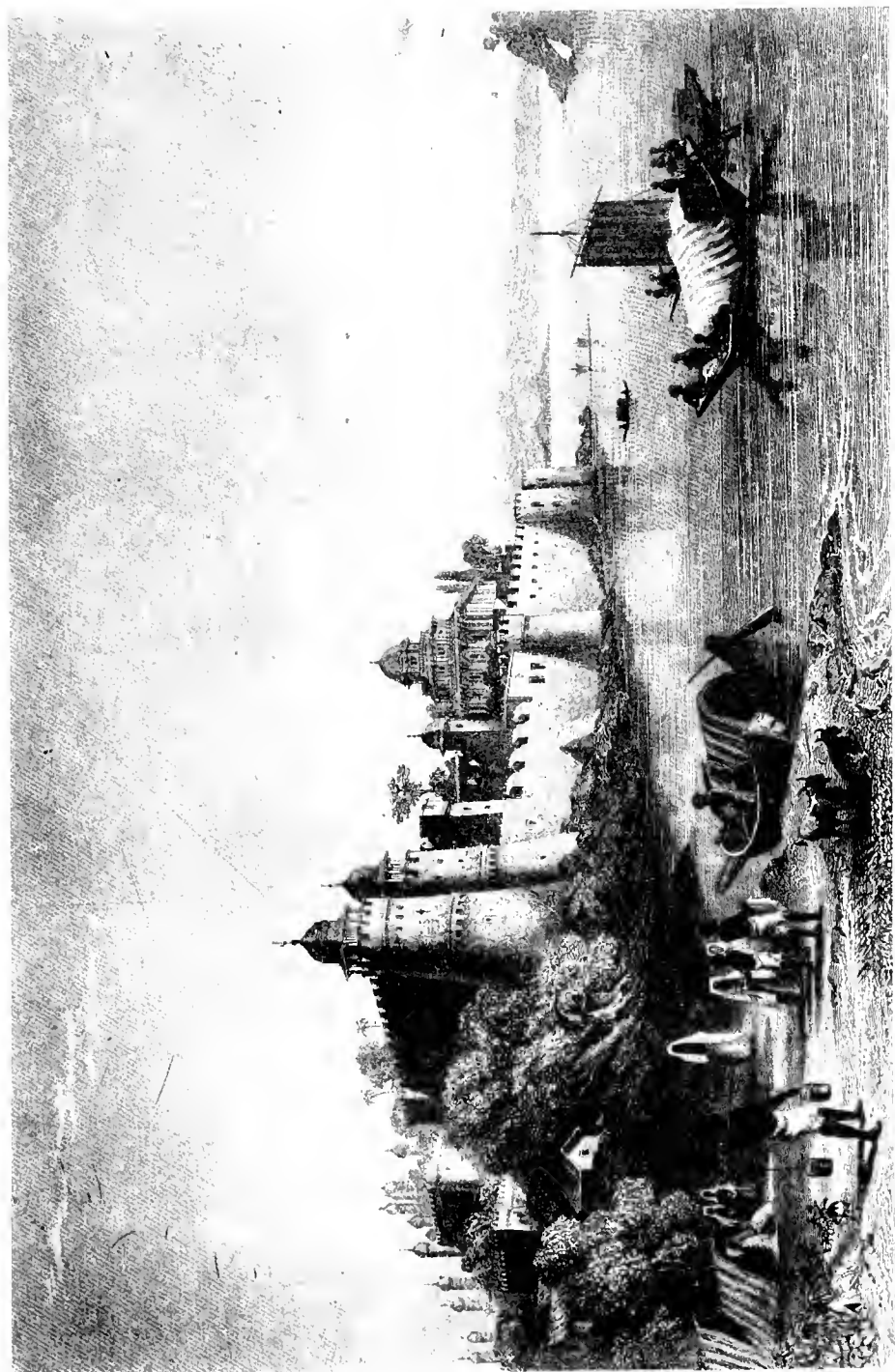


INTERIOR OF DHER WARRA, CAVES OF ELLORA

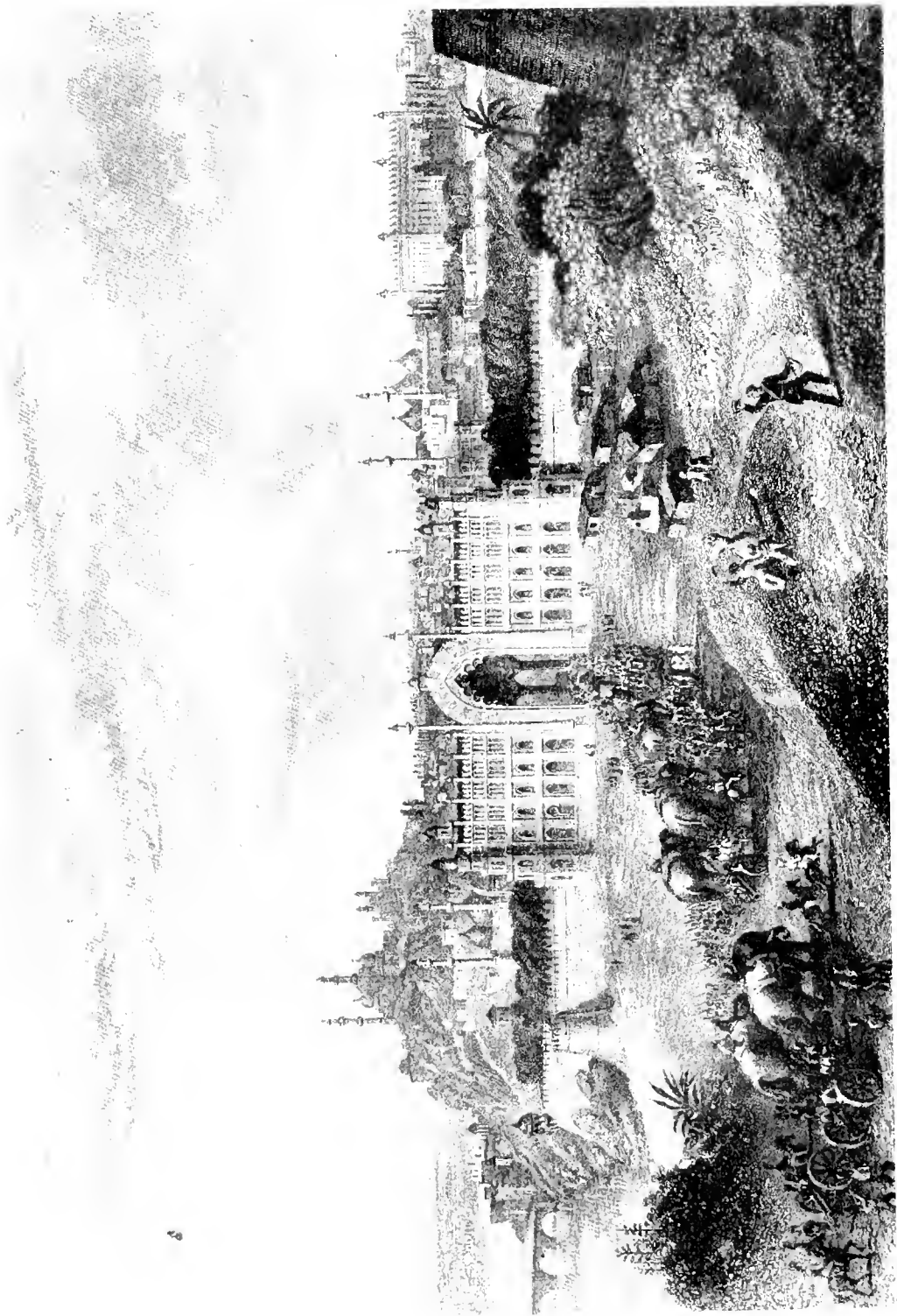


**SUTTEEISM ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES — PREPARING FOR THE IMMOLATION
OF A HINDOO WIDOW**

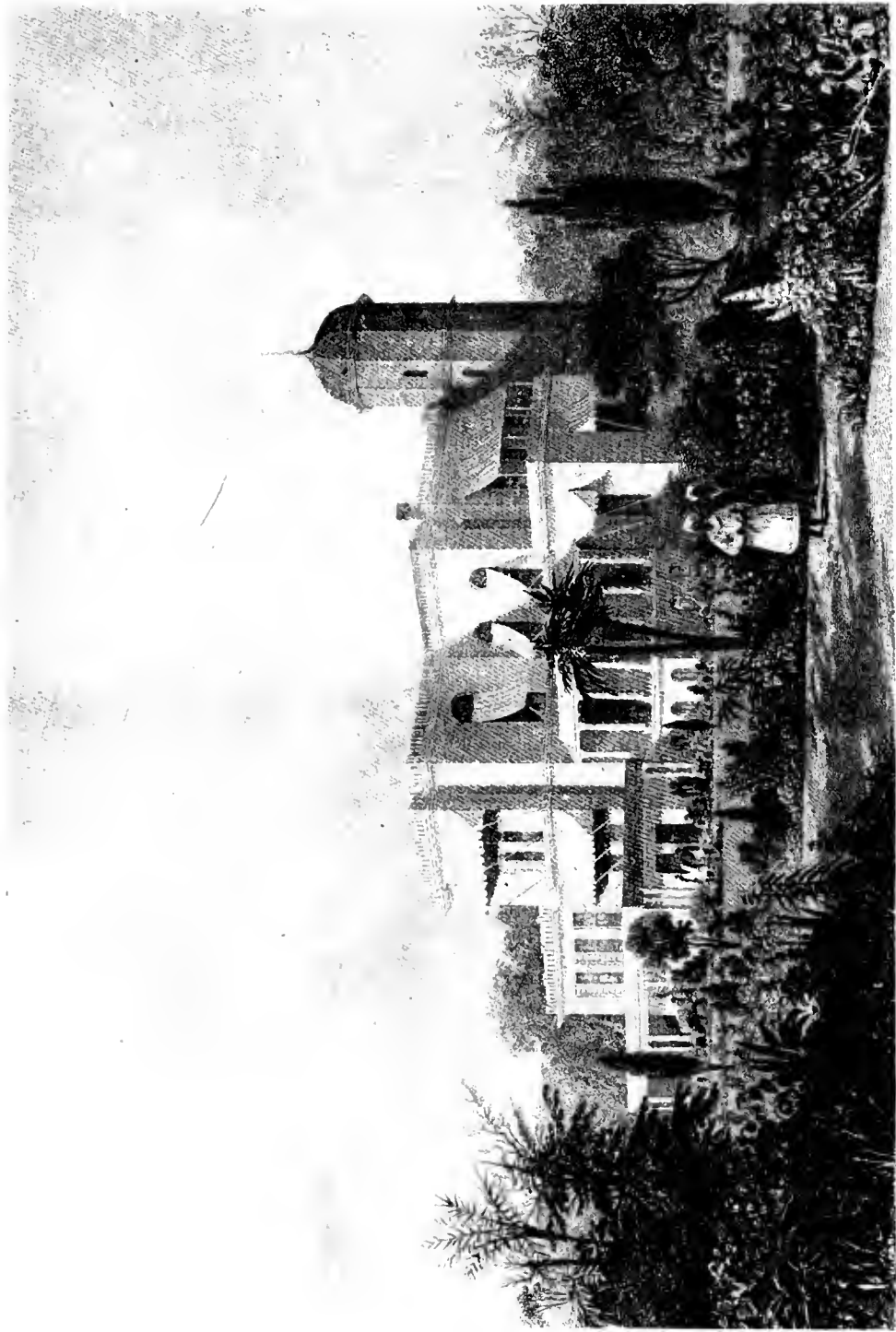
The prohibition of this abominable custom is supposed to be one of the causes which has led to the mutinies in India



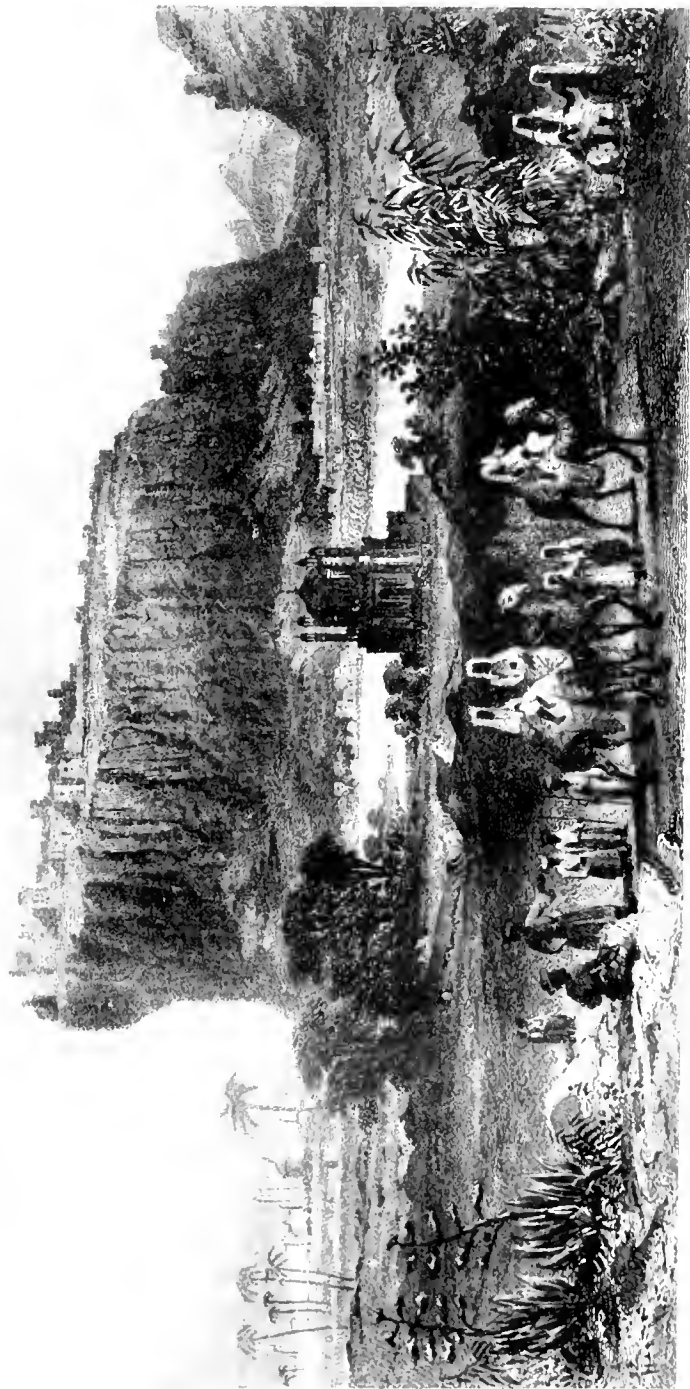
VIEW OF ALLAHABAD, SHOWING THE FORT



VIEW OF LUCKNOW

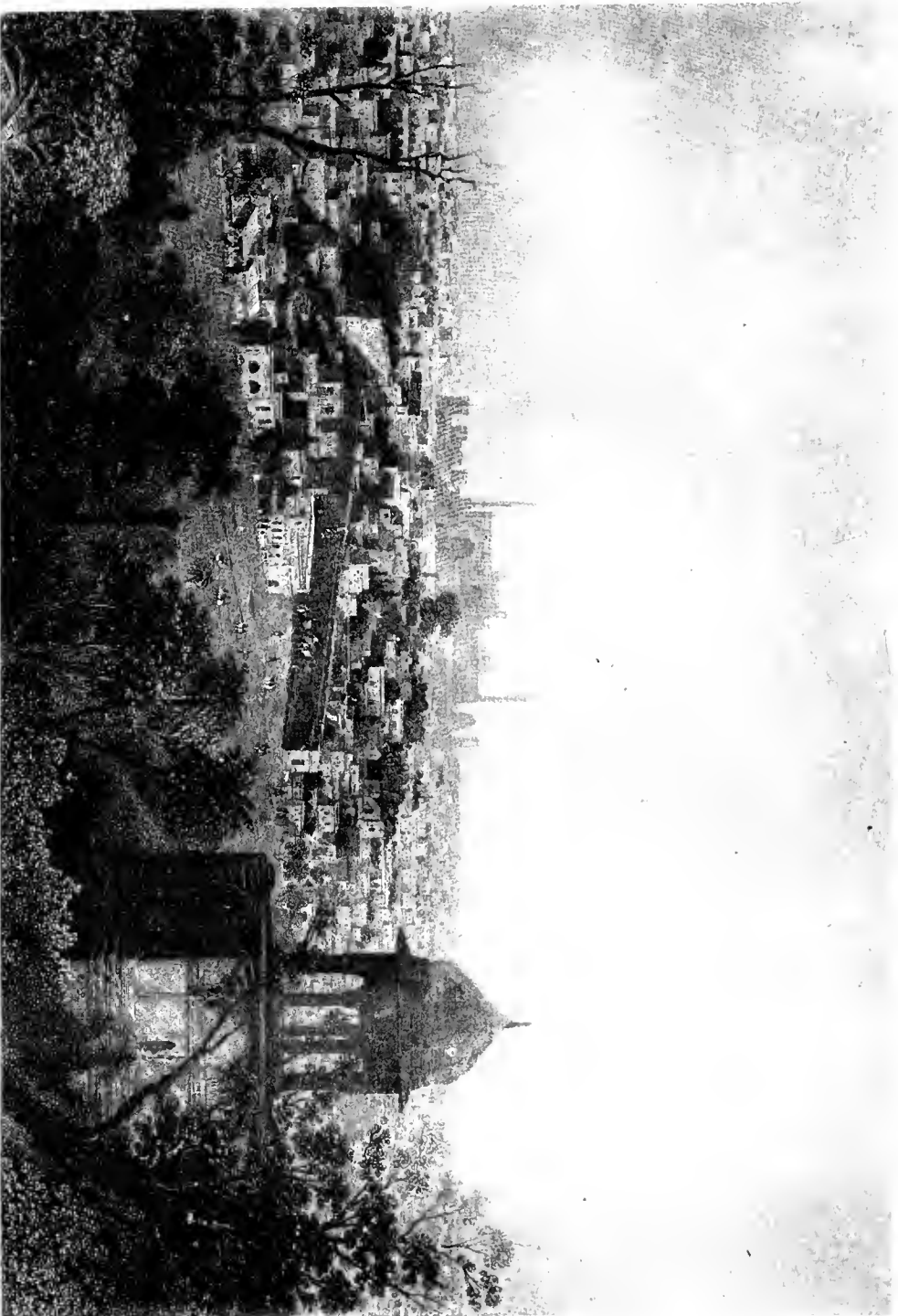


THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW



THE HILL FORTRESS OF GWALIOR

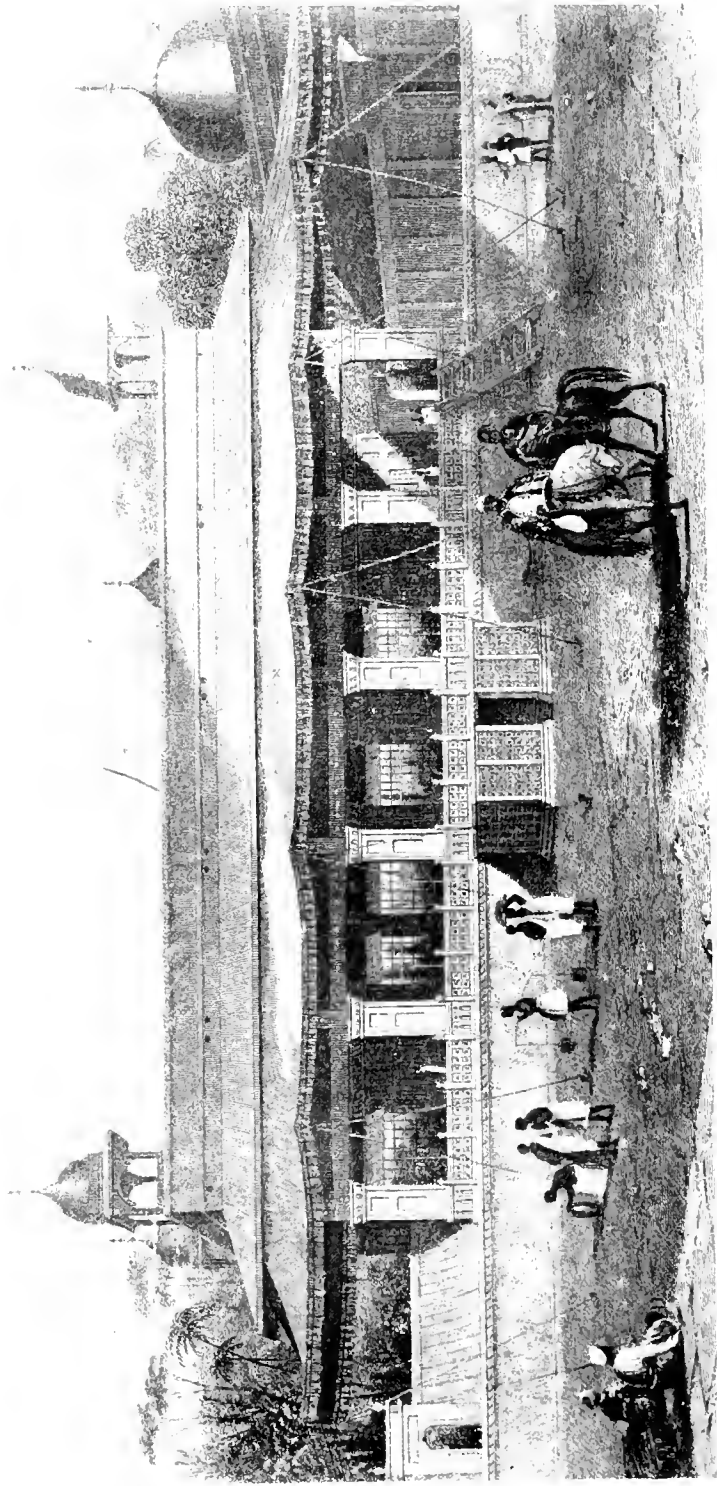
Gwalior is the Capital of the dominions of the Maharajah Scindia the fortress was taken by British troops under Major Popham Aug. 3rd 1780. Seized by the Rebels June 1st 1858. Recaptured by Sir H. Rose and restored to the Maharajah June 19th 1858



VIEW OF DELHI, FROM THE PALACE GATE



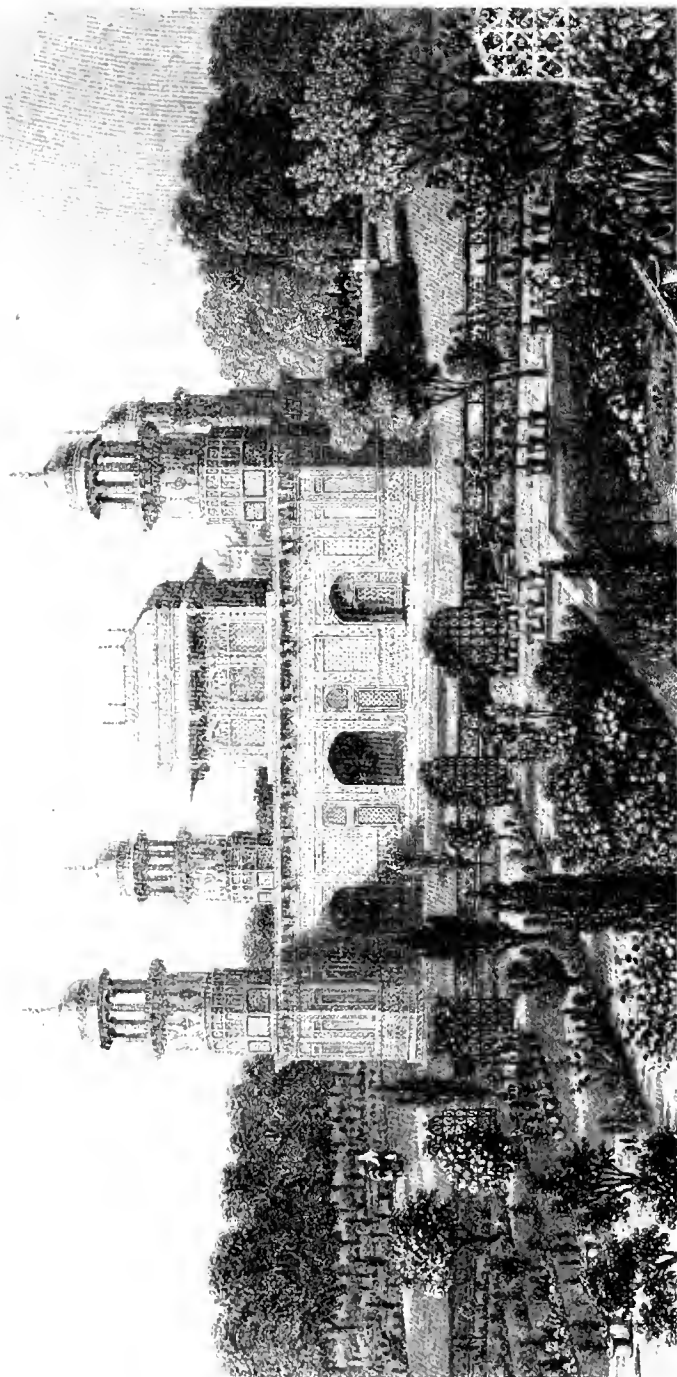
VIEW OF DELHI FROM THE RIVER SHEWING THE KING'S PALACE



THE DEWAN KHAS, OR HALL OF AUDIENCE—PALACE OF DELHI



AGRA—VIEW OF PRINCIPAL STREET



TOMB OF ELMAD-OOD DOULAH—AGRA

